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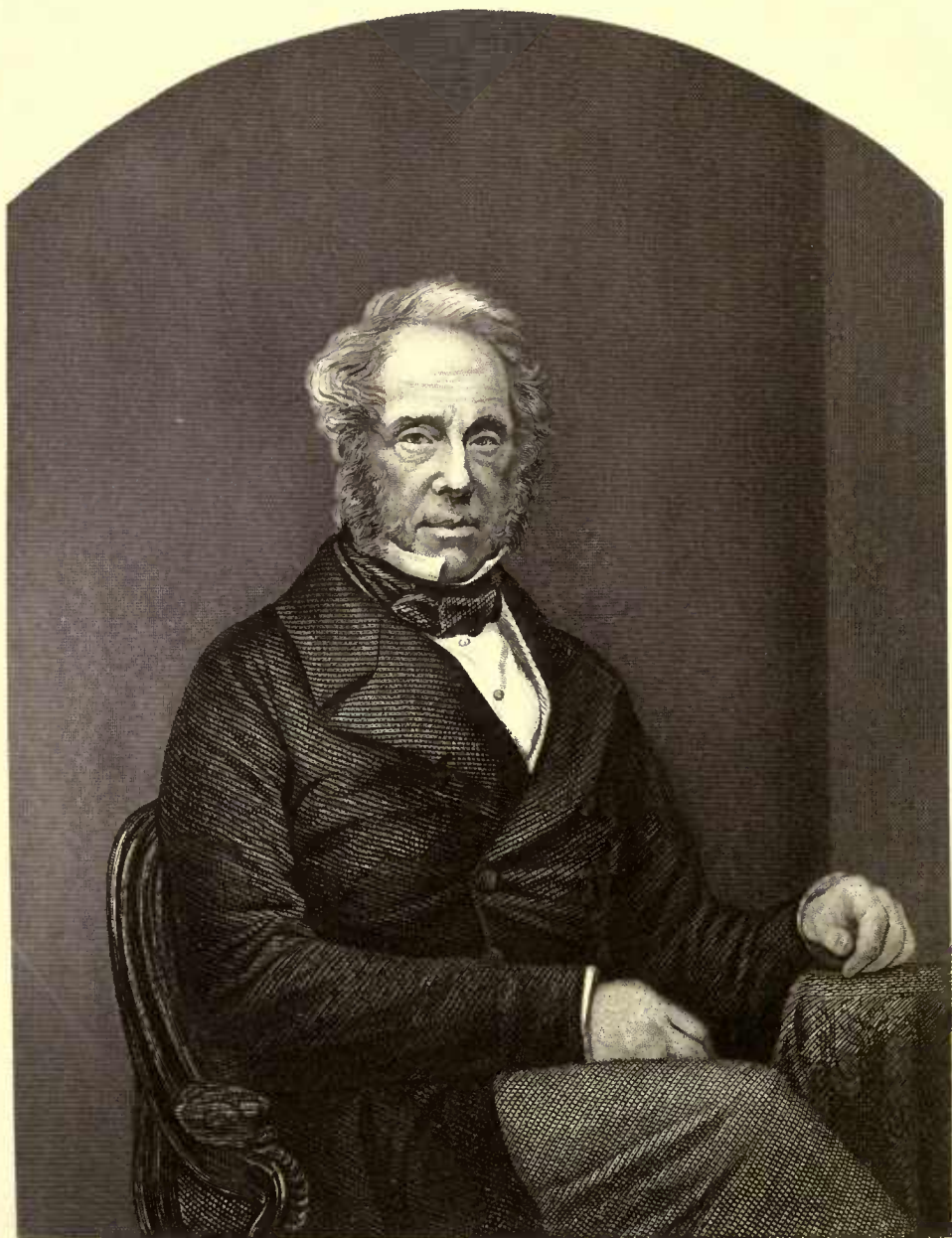


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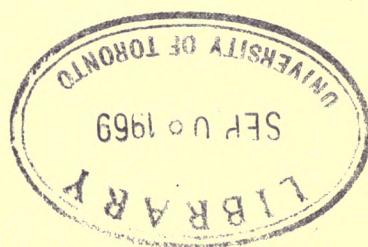


THE  
Life and Times  
OF  
LORD PALMERSTON.



*Broadlands, Hampshire.*

(THE SEAT OF LORD PALMERSTON)



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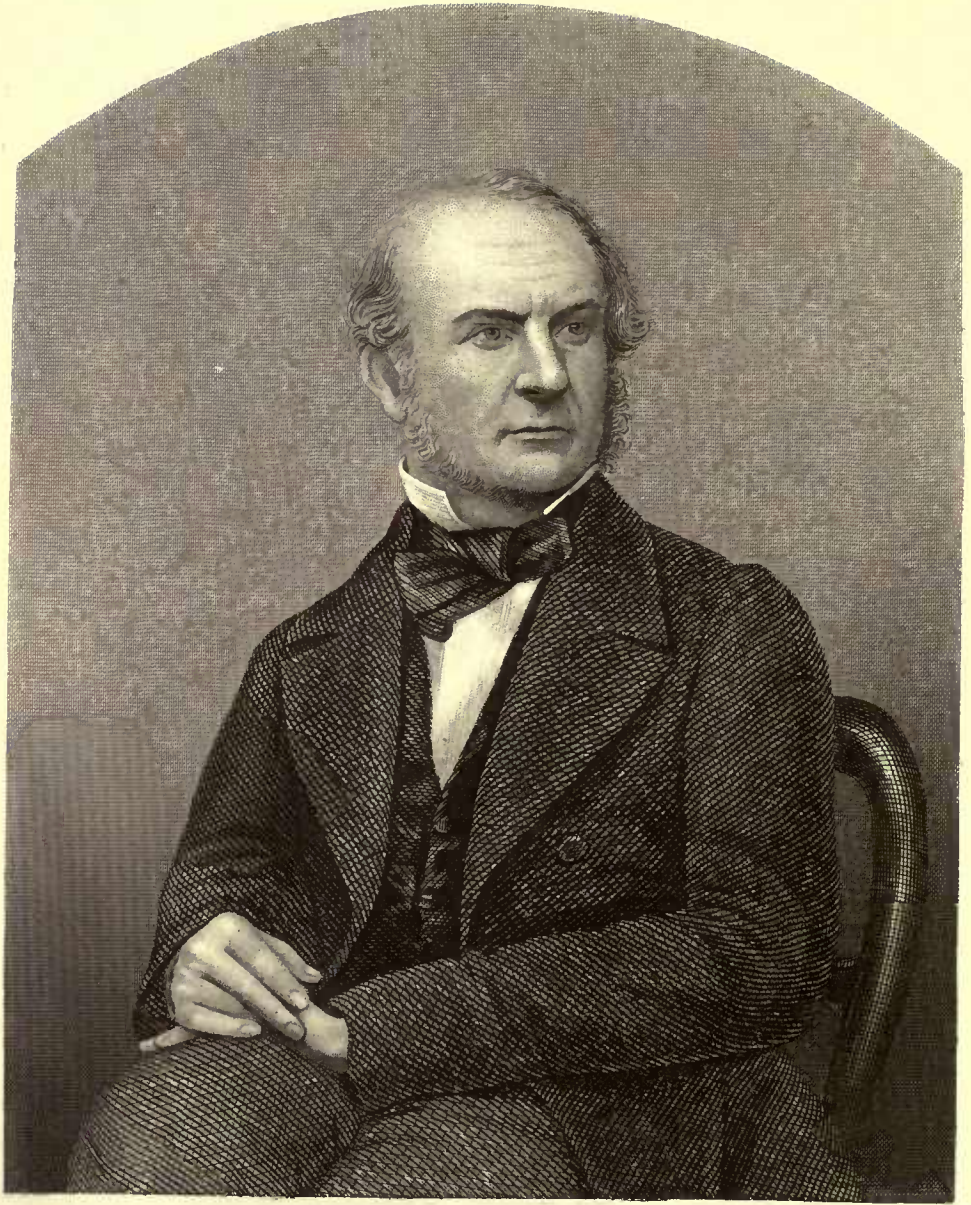
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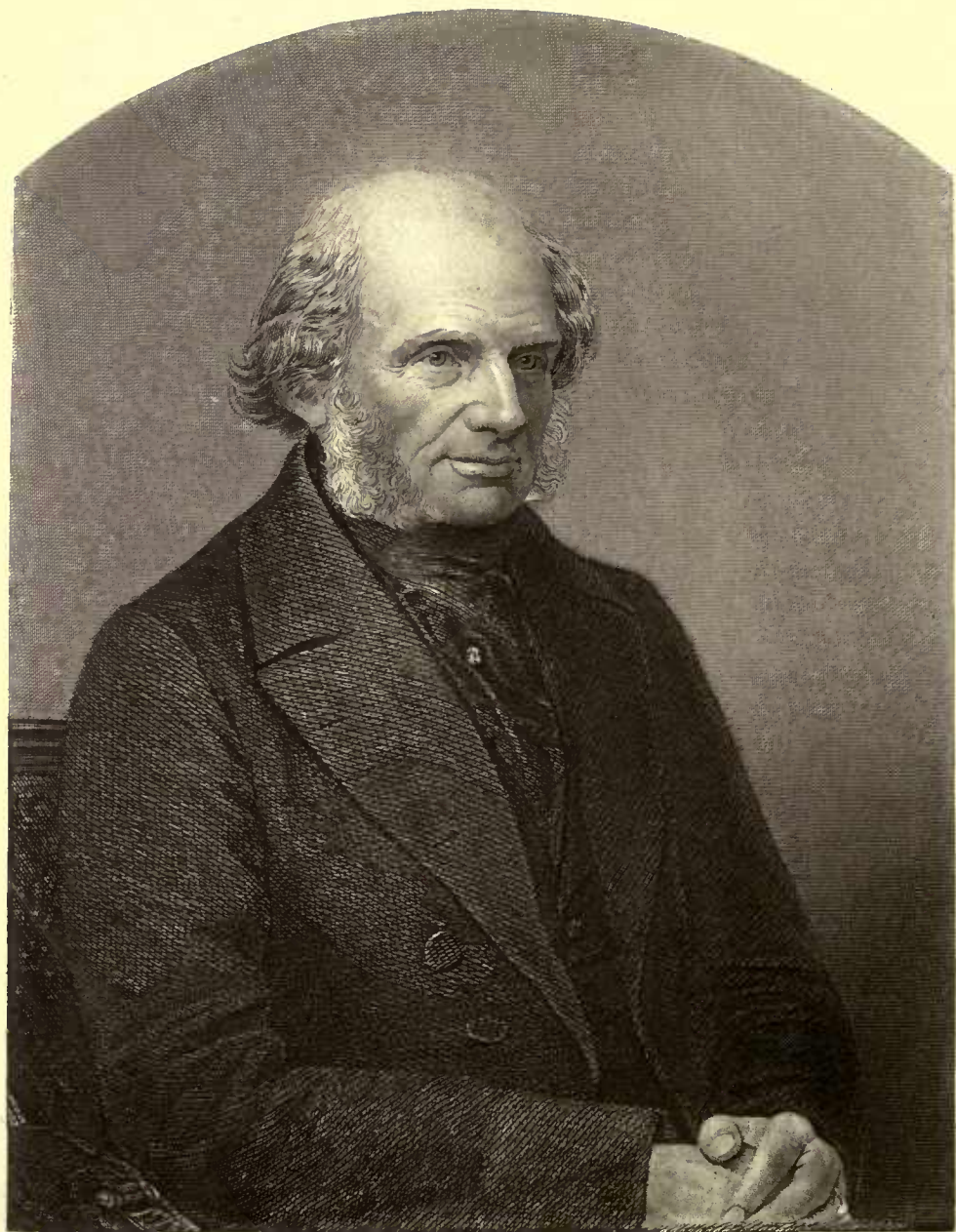


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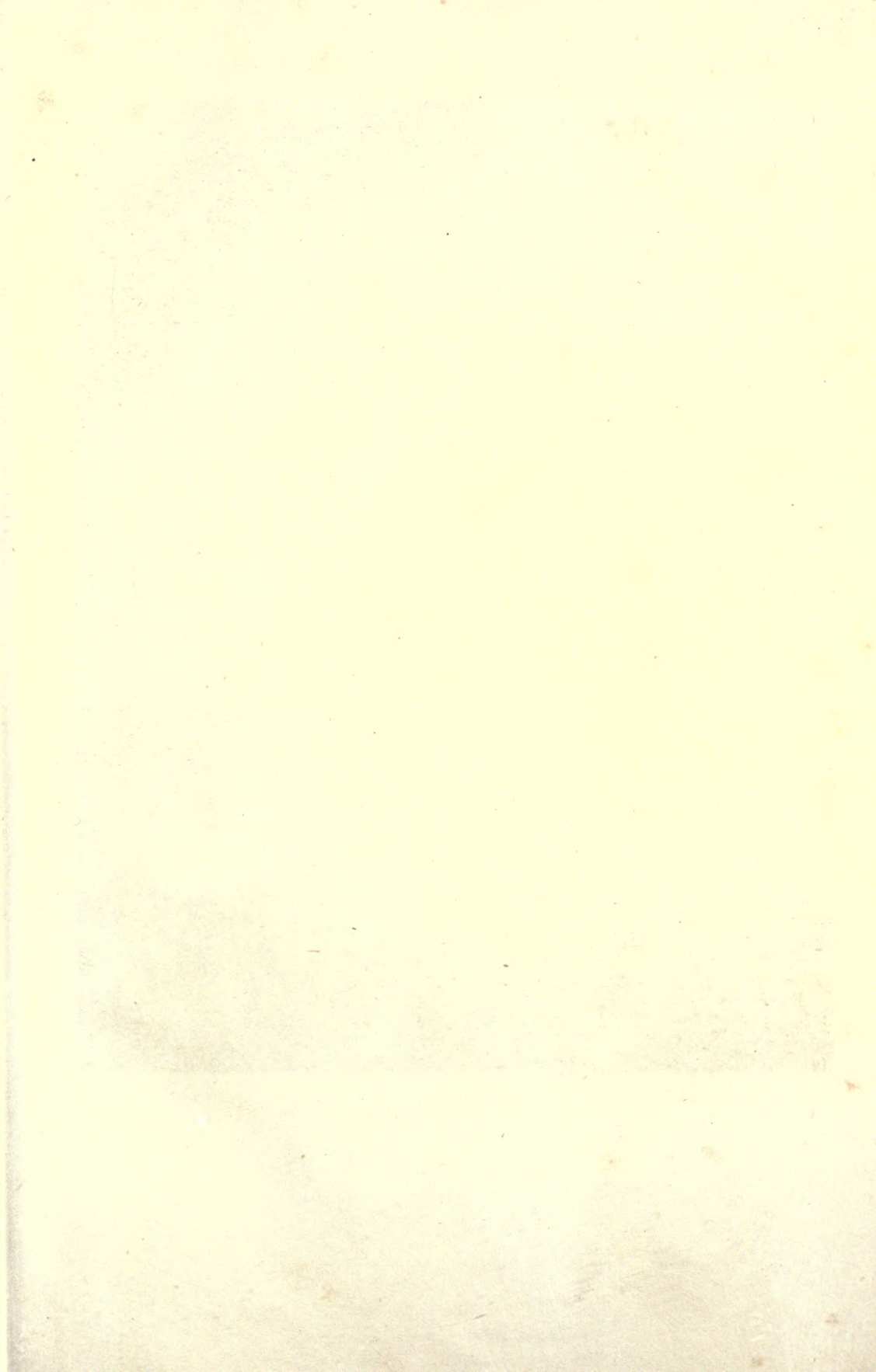






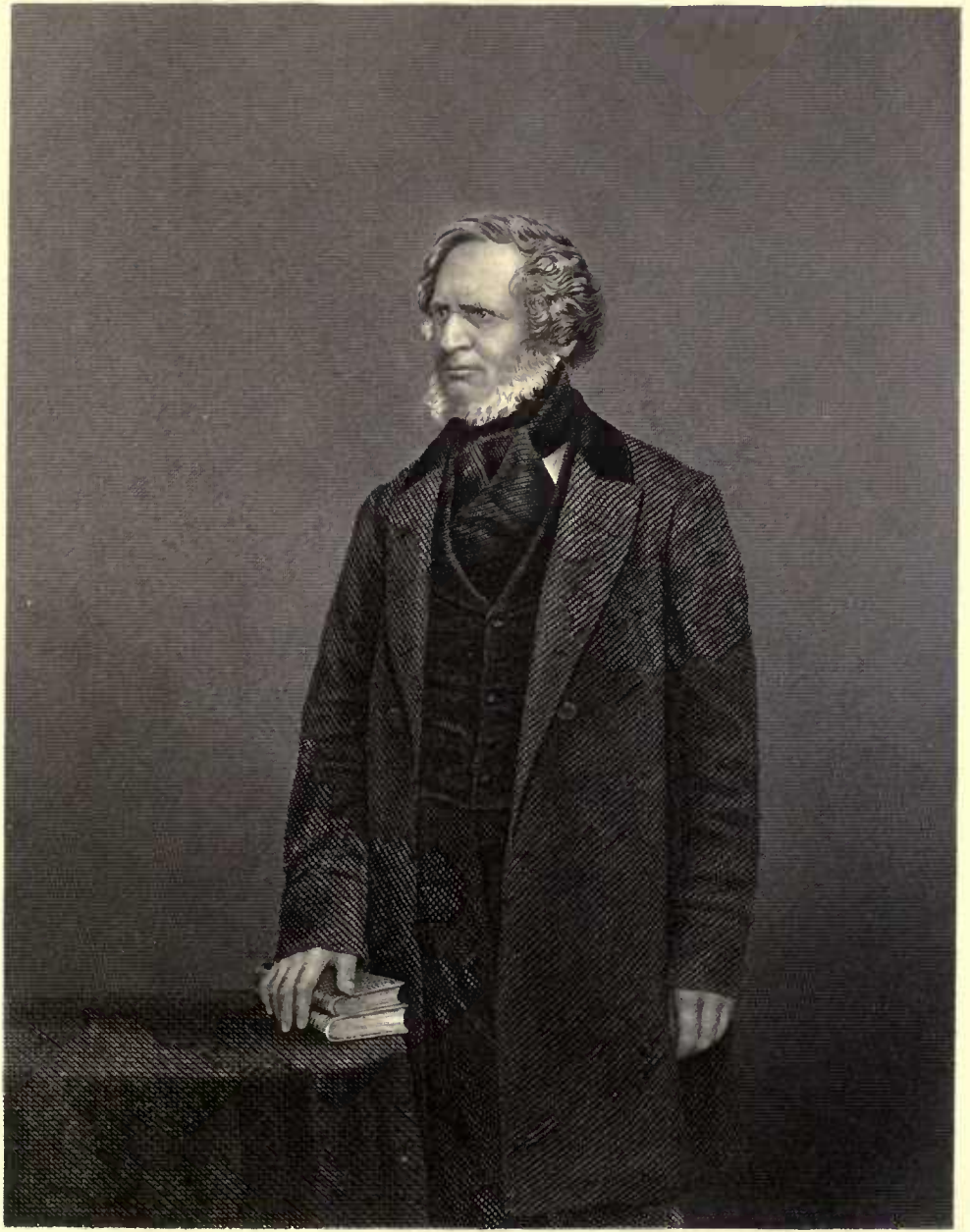
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THE  
LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
VISCOUNT PALMERSTON:

EMBRACING

THE DIPLOMATIC AND DOMESTIC HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE  
DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY.

BY J. EWING RITCHIE,  
AUTHOR OF "MODERN STATESMEN," ETC.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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POLITICAL history is the history of the struggle between those who have power and those who desire it. Society has never existed by means of a social compact. The strong have seized what they could, and then they called it Right. Philosophy taught men that this right was but Might; and the problem given to society has been to destroy the reign of Might, and to substitute for it Right.

Christianity gave men a sanction for this struggle. To do to others as we would have others to do to us, is its golden rule.

The age of miracles is past. In history we see the invariable sequence—cause and effect. A rapid glance over the past will teach us this.

Pomponius Mela—we quote him second-hand, on the authority of Gibbon—in referring to the war commenced by Claudius against the new Roman province of Britain, says he trusts that, by means of it, the island and its savage inhabitants would soon be better known. It was not long ere this wish, amusing as it may seem to us, was realised. The philosophical student can now trace the development of men and circumstances, which we call history; and will see that a change has, indeed, come over the spirit of the dream; that she who was named eternal has passed away; that a new religion, abhorred by the great and the wise, has banished to the winds the mythology which philosophy had received—which art had enshrined—which genius had married to immortal verse;—that men of alien manners, and blood, and tongue, have succeeded to the power and fame then possessed by Rome; and that the obscure island whose pearls attracted the avarice of the Roman soldiery as they viewed its white cliffs from the shores of Gaul, has now linked all of progress to which man's mind can aspire, and has a sway amongst the nations of the earth, of which Rome, in her palmyest days, never dreamt. The eloquent pen of Gibbon has left us a vivid idea of the Roman empire in the age of the Antonines—an empire which swayed the lives and fortunes of 120,000,000 of human beings—an empire, reckoning from the wall of Antoninus to Mount Atlas, 2,000 miles broad, and from the western ocean to the Euphrates, 3,000 miles long; comprising, altogether, 1,600,000 square miles—an empire situated in the finest parts of the temperate zone—an empire rich in the possession of all the arts which humanise and bless mankind—an empire whose merchants set in motion the looms of Babylon, and bought up the furs of Scythia, the marbles of Greece, the corn of Egypt, the amber found on the shores of the Baltic, and the silks and glittering jewels of the East—an empire whose sons, of matchless energy and iron arm, had made Rome the seat of commerce, the home of civilisation, and polity, and

religion—the queen of cities, the mistress of the world. Paul the apostle, conscious that a new spirit was about to walk the earth, might deem that the night was far spent, and the day at hand; but the Roman citizen might well be forgiven, if, with the shortsightedness natural to man, he imagined that the night of barbarism was past, and that the day had already come: he might well be forgiven if he dreamt that Rome was eternal as the hills on which she stood, as the yellow Tiber that washed her marble halls—if he little thought that the time would ever arrive when her legions would turn their backs to the foe—when fiery Goth and furious Hun would bivouac in her streets, and around her “Capitol,” and insult its conscript father.

Centuries of conquest were necessary ere Rome could fight her way up to supremacy and power. There was a long interval before the mud hovels of Romulus were exchanged for the marble palaces of the crafty nephew of Julius Cæsar. What the Romans took centuries to do, was achieved by the barbarous inhabitants, of whom Pomponius Mela speaks so disrespectfully, in little more than forty years. In one quarter of the globe, and at a distance of 8,000 miles, 120,000,000 of men, whose manners and institutions remained what they were when Diodorus Siculus closed his account—whose earliest records carry us back to the dim grey of the world’s dawn—whom the legions of Alexander of Macedon had failed to conquer—whom the hosts of Timour and Nadir Shah never thoroughly subdued—yielded up to British supremacy the vast extent of territory stretching from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin; and the manner was almost as wonderful as the fact itself. This territory, separated from us by barriers which we might imagine no amount of skill, or cunning, or prowess, or all three of them combined, could overleap, was won, not so much by armed hosts as by a company of merchants, who went forth to trade, and in time to reign, on the shores of Hindostan. Nor is this all. The English mind has become yet more potent than the English sword. In America, in Australia, there are vast continents inhabited by millions, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; of whom, as of us, it may be said—

“ In our halls are hung  
Armoury of the invincible knight of old.  
We must be free, or die, who speak the tongue  
That Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold  
That Milton held. In everything we’re sprung  
Of earth’s best blood—have titles manifold.”

What constitutes the difference between Rome and England? Why is England great and glorious, and Rome in ruins? One word sums up the reply—Progress.

Progress is impossible in a despotism. England’s history is that of progress. Lord Palmerston obeyed the law, and he was the most successful statesman of his age.

To the idea of progress, the Conservatives, such as Mr. Alison, oppose that of decay. They quote the authority of Bacon, who tells us—“In the infancy of a state arms do prevail; in its maturity, arms and learning for a short season; in



its decline, commerce and the mechanical arts." If Lord Bacon be correct in his conclusions, our country has seen its best days. If nations flourish and decay as individuals, there is also no help for us. Let us consider the latter idea first. The argument, from analogy, is often deceptive, and in this case particularly so. All that on which society rests, and flourishes, and makes progress, is derived from experience—from the reception of new truths, or from the wider application of those already in existence. A living society—a state where there is progress—is one continued march; and where such is the case there can be no decay. Now that the press preserves and hands down to the future all the truth, and wisdom, and ennobling traditions of the past, progress must exist. Our grandfathers tell us, that when they were young, people in the country made their wills when they set out on a journey to London. Who can say that our present rapid mode of locomotion may not be superseded by one more rapid? As man learns more, and better, to understand, and interpret, and obey the laws of nature, who can tell at what conclusions he may not arrive? In economical science we may never have another Adam Smith; nor in inductive philosophy another Bacon; nor in astronomy another Newton; but our future astronomers, and philosophers, and political economists will find out truths of which the former never dreamt, inasmuch as they show us the way, and we commence where they were compelled to stop. About the same time, in all, youth passes into manhood, and manhood becomes old age. "The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if, by reason of strength, they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow, for it is soon cut off, and we fly away." In the history of nations there are no such well-defined and simultaneous epochs. Internal strife, hostile invasion, the exhaustion of the soil, the removal of trade, the existence of institutions opposed to the happiness and well-being of a community, may lead, and have led, to national destruction; but they are not necessary—they can be evaded: but an individual cannot keep off old age, or defy the stroke of death.

Venice fell into decay because the discovery of the passage to the East, by the Cape of Good Hope, diverted elsewhere the tide of traffic and trade. The grass now grows in the deserted streets of Lubeck—once a city of merchant princes—because elsewhere commerce finds a more congenial home. The bigotry of Philip of Spain dealt a blow at Flanders from which the country has never yet recovered. Sparta and Athens, and the other republics of antiquity, fell into decay because their thirty or forty thousand privileged citizens bore no proportion to the amount of slaves; so that when the hour of danger came, there were none they could lead forth to battle for their hearths and homes—

" For the ashes of their fathers,  
And the temples of their gods."

Rome fell, after centuries of renown, for a similar reason; and, as if to show how absurd is the analogy between nations and individuals, we have the vast empire of China existing for ages—existing as far back as history can trace, without

the shadow of a change. Nations die of *felo de se*. It was in their power to have averted such a catastrophe.

We now return to the sentence of Bacon, in which timid and trembling Conservatism perceives the ground and warrant of its fears. The dwarf on the giant's back can see further than the giant himself. Bacon was a giant; we may be dwarfs; but we stand on the giant's back. When Lord Bacon was, in spite of his meanness, building for himself an immortal renown, but few of the principles of political science were discovered and understood. Even so great a genius was not exempt from the errors of his times. "It is true," as Cowley finely remarks, in his ode to the Royal Society, "that Bacon led forth the sciences from their house of bondage;" but it is also equally true that he died before he reached the promised land. The age in which he lived was remarkable for an intellectual activity on some points, only equalled by its gross credulity in others. The powers of the human mind seemed concentrated in the most perverse and mischievous directions. The barren subtleties of the schoolmen were still veritable realities. The loftiest intellects were spell-bound by the mysterious marvels of the illiterate and rude. Lives and fortunes were frittered away in search of the philosopher's stone, that was to turn everything it touched into gold; and that was to prolong to an age beyond that of Methuselah the life of the fortunate possessor. Dr. Dee was revered as a philosopher: and a man of acute and polished intellect, like Sir Walter Raleigh, helped to bewilder a credulous people by his wondrous accounts of nations of Amazons; of men whose heads were beneath their shoulders; of El Dorado, and its mountains of glittering gold. Over everything a fervid imagination threw a gorgeous robe. It was an age of poetry, when romance had her house, not in the globe, nor in the player's brain, but in all broad England, from the Land's End to Johnny Groat's. To such a people there was nothing fascinating in the abstractions of political economy; and the sciences, which did not find food for the fancy, which required merely patient observation and accurate investigation, were undervalued and overlooked. Bacon knew little of political economy, and considered the sumptuary laws of Henry VII. most admirable enactments. Bacon was gathered to his fathers, but no Elisha was found to wear his mantle: and in the angry days which followed, when the battle was fought between parliament and king—when England had peace at home and honour abroad, under the splendid sway of the Lord Protector—when the mad frenzy of the Restoration disgraced the land, and threw it back half a century, the political economist had little time to study, and had little chance of being heard. England had her philosophers, but the times were unfavourable. Her Milton, when the trumpet sounded, hastened home from Italy and the congenial company of philosophers and scholars, to take part in the struggle for freedom. The philosopher of despotism, Hobbes, as he saw the storm began to lower, hurried away, to linger amidst the vineyards of France, beneath the blue skies of the sunny south. An English revolution had to take place; American independence had to be achieved; a French revolution had to be consummated, ere people could have faith in progress and in man.



Race and creed have much to do with national progress. For instance, there is little progress amongst Roman Catholic nations. Miss Cobbe, in her interesting work on Italy, makes it clear what an enemy to progress is the priest, by working on the fears of the wife or mother, and thus paralysing the patriotic husband or son. Her testimony on this point is explicit, and what we might expect. The priest belongs to the past rather than the present. Again, some races appear unable to rise to freedom and independence. The black man, for instance, is a slave. How is that? You cannot make a slave of an Anglo-Saxon. We pause to consider the origin of the latter. We shall understand modern history the better for doing so. The fictions about unknown continents and islands, with which our fathers were amused and deceived, have been dispelled by increased geographical knowledge. Almost every nook and corner in the earth's remotest regions has been explored and noted down. There are now no hordes of savage warriors to burst forth like a volcano from the forts and forests of northern Europe, scattering everywhere desolation and death. Nor can we anticipate a new revelation, to proclaim to man a nobler destiny than that which the Bible unfolds. We are, then, thrown back upon the Anglo-Saxon race. We shall find them everywhere the advocates of freedom and progress, and especially in connection with Protestantism. They were a wonderful people, those northern nations, when they first made their appearance in history. They had conquered Varrus and his three legions; they had given the title of Germanicus to the first Roman of his age. Even now the Scandinavians long for the voluptuous south, with its olive gardens and vineyards—with its blue sky and unclouded sun—with its dark beauties bewitching with laughter and love;—as did their fathers, as, thicker and thicker, they clustered round the ill-fated walls of Rome. Death for them had no terrors; it but translated them to Walhalla, where meet and dwell together the God-like and the brave. From the glimpses we get of them in Cæsar and Tacitus, we see how indomitable was their war-spirit, and what virtue and freedom there was in their life. Tacitus may have exaggerated the latter; as did Rousseau, in a civilisation equally corrupt and effete as that of the time of Tacitus, the charms of barbarism, when—

“ Wild in woods the noble savage ran.”

But Tacitus may be relied on to a certain extent. They were braver and better men than others—hence their success, when force ruled the world, and virtue was called courage. It is said that Ulphilas, who translated the Bible into the Mæso-Gothic tongue, omitted the Chronicles of the Kings on account of the wars there enumerated, fearing the bad effects of such literature on his fighting converts. When Clovis heard of the sufferings of the Saviour—how he was reviled, and persecuted, and betrayed—how he was unjustly condemned, and ignominiously slain—the king furiously exclaimed—“ Had I been there, at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries.” Yet from the northern wall of China there poured forth hordes of savages, before whom trembled Herman,

who ruled all the Goths, from the Euxine to the Baltic. They differed in appearance from those with whom they came in contact. With broad shoulders, flat noses, small, black, sunken eyes, their presence excited unmixed disgust amidst their terrified opponents, who compared them to the misshapen figures of the god Terminus, with which the Romans were wont to encumber or adorn their bridges. To these strange uncouth invaders an origin was assigned, which rendered them, in a still greater degree, objects of disgust, and fear, and hate. That they were the offspring of connexions between fiends and witches in the wilds of Scythia, was the tale told, and believed. Against this new barbarian irruption the decaying strength of Rome could oppose but a feeble barrier. Soon they became as familiar with its walls as they were with those of China. They had heard much of Italian groves and villas, fruits and flowers, and corn and wine. Italy was to them a land flowing with milk and honey; and they hastened to claim the land of promise as their own. Onward they came in irresistible strength. They divided the spoil. Every nation that had rejoiced under the mild despotism of Augustus became subject to their sway. In time they fused into one, and lorded it all over Europe. They drove out the men whom civilisation, and ease, and luxury had emasculated, and thus we got the new blood and the Anglo-Saxon race.

In the dawn of the world's history, Asia appears to have been the home from which went forth the sons of men to colonise the world. From its high central lands they followed one another as wave succeeds wave. In Europe we find the Celtic race preceding the Slavonic, and the latter the Teutonic. Sweden and Norway became the seat of the Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic family. Here, as it were, beyond the pale of that European civilisation which, from Rome, extended to every clime and race, they dwelt, cherishing the faith, and practising the rites their fathers held. It was long before the Hebrew creed penetrated the frozen north. The fourth century witnessed the conversion of the Goths; the Franks were converted in the fifth; the Anglo-Saxons in the sixth; the Germans, generally, in the seventh and eighth; the Saxons in the ninth: but it was not till the eleventh century that Scandinavia embraced the religion of the Cross. For the historical student this is a fortunate event. While our Anglo-Saxon forefathers were writing homilies, and counting their beads, and singing psalms, the Skalds and the Vikings of the north were celebrating, in their rough-strung verse, a heroism and hardihood which exists still; but now, happily, applied in a less sanguinary direction. These lays, in the long winter nights, were said and sung by many a fireside, to many a sympathetic group;—the deeds of Roguar Ladbrook; the tearless sorrows of Guthrun; tales of daring and revenge—how Thor wrestled—how Loki plotted. In such lore was the Scandinavian nursed from his youth; and in the spirit such a lore cherished and sustained, the mild genius of Christianity long found its most inveterate foe.

In Iceland all these legends existed in full force down to a late period of history. It seems strange that this small island, in the ocean's midst; with its sterile soil; its people reduced and poor; with its ungenial climate and wintry



winds, should have acquired for itself a literary renown to which Denmark, Sweden, or Norway can lay no claim. Such is the fact, however. Iceland was the nursery of the Skalds—of the men who created and embalmed northern mythology, and whose presence in the field often led warriors to deeds of prowess. Olaf, king of Norway, taking three with him to the field of battle, exclaimed—"You shall not relate what you have heard, but what you are eye-witnesses of yourselves." The Earl of Norway had five along with him in the great battle in which the warriors of Jomsburg were defeated. Harold the Fair-haired awarded them the best seats at his feasts. Golden rings, rich apparel, and glittering arms were their usual reward. The songs they composed were sung by the blazing fire in the chieftain's hall, while the cup was quaffed, and the hot blood of the Norseman was on fire. According to Tacitus, these songs were the only annals those warriors possessed.

From the Sagas of the Skalds we obtain an idea of Scandinavian manners, truer, if less flattering to their morals, than that which Tacitus has left behind in immortal prose. From him we gather, that the golden age of innocence still reigned on the shores of the Baltic. According to M. Mallet, this was true of the Norseman at a much later period of his existence. The Sagas do not sanction such an idea as regards the morals of the people. Their well-authenticated facts display a state of society such as we might expect to find where men nursed in savage independence loved to congregate. The Sagar, it is true, tells us nothing of polygamy; but the husband frequently kept his *frilla*, or concubine. The woman, however, seems to have had equal rights with the man. A wife could easily emancipate herself from marital authority. She had only to tell her husband that from that day they ceased to be man and wife, and her marriage was, *de facto* and *de jure*, annulled. Marriages were celebrated without any religious ceremony. We only read of banquets given to the friends and relatives, according to the opulence of the parties. At the marriage of a wealthy person the feasting would be prolonged for several days, till a grand quarrel terminated these proceedings in bloodshed—as is the case amongst the lower order of Celtic Irish even in our own day. Occasionally men would exchange their wives. A rough, imperious people, evidently.

So much for race. The way, also, was being prepared for the new creed, which, with the new blood, was to make history something more than a record of battles, or the rise and fall of dynasties; which was to illustrate how clear it is that, through the ages—

"One unceasing purpose runs."

For many an age the Jew had testified to mankind the unity of Jehovah. In the drama of the world's history, Palestine was now called upon to act her part. From the fair humanities of old religion, men's minds, on account of their utter worthlessness, had become estranged. Men had outlived Fetichism and Polytheism. In the great questions relative to this world and the next, to which man's universal heart has ever sought a clue, they returned answers vague, unmeaning,

delusive, false. The augur laughed when he met his brother augur. The scholar, the philosopher, the statesman, and the king, saw—

“No God, no heaven in the wide void—  
The wide, grey, lampless, dark, unpeopled void.”

Everywhere unbelief—shallow, sensual, blighting—prevailed. Our Milton has grandly outlined for us that past:—

“The oracles were dumb;  
No voice or hideous hum  
Ran through the arched roof in words deceiving.  
Apollo, from his shrine,  
Could no more divine,  
With hollow shriek, the steep of Delphos leaving.  
No nightly trance or breathed spell  
Inspired the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.”

The Jew himself had become dead to the grand truth it had been his proud destiny to receive and guard; he had lost the substance in the shadow—the spirit in the form. The Levite had become a formalist; the temple was desecrated: on its altar the sacred fire had ceased to burn. Then came the new creed which Jesus of Nazareth proclaimed with wondrous power, and sealed with a yet more wondrous death—the creed which, carried by the Anglo-Saxon race all over the world, makes society ever young—ever vigilant against decay—ever hopeful as to the future.

In the England of Palmerston's time this has been especially clear.

England's religion, we are sometimes told, is the cause of her prosperity. Just in the same way, Symmachus, pleading before Valentinian for the altar of victory, argued that the old Pagan creed of Rome had reduced the world under its laws; had repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Goth from the capital. Gustavus Adolphus perished on the field of Lutzen; yet he was fighting for the truth. Cracow was not more irreligious than Vienna; yet how different their fates! The Protestant faith of the Huguenot was no preservative from the sword of his Roman Catholic oppressor. While the drivelling James was playing a losing game at Whitehall, the husband of an English princess was in vain risking his Bohemian kingdom and crown for the precious truths for which Huss died, and Luther lived. Religious truth has been, and can be, put down by force. History teems with illustrations. If it had not been for Alva and his soldiers, Belgium would be a Protestant country. While the empire of the West was crumbling to decay, Constantinople was the seat and fountain of religious excitement. In the time of Gregory of Nazianzus, not a mechanic or slave existed who did not dogmatise on the most subtle mysteries of our faith. “If,” he writes, “you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father. If you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son was made out of nothing.” Pious people, as



they call themselves, may ignore the commonest conditions of political life and progress, and the state must and will decay; politics may be abandoned to placemen and party politicians; bad laws and heavy taxes may exist; there may be injustice, and monopoly, and class legislation; and yet there may be much real religion existing in the land. But the beneficial influences of the one will not counteract the deteriorating tendencies of the other, any more than will orthodoxy of creed keep off the contagion of cholera, or preserve the health of the man who daily violates the conditions of physical life. When Lord Palmerston began to take a part in politics, religion was the excuse of the worst blots of our political system. It was argued against Charles I., that he had invaded the liberties of the country; and the defence set up for him was, that he was faithful to his wife, and attached to the doctrines and rites of the English church. George III., it was said, had stretched the royal prerogative to a degree utterly at variance with the principles which had seated the House of Hanover on the throne; and the reply was, that he made a point of reading his Bible, and went regularly to church. When it was objected to Mr. Perceval that he was a very narrow-minded man, that he saw but a little way before him, and that what little he saw was wrong, his friends thought the reformers very unreasonable because they still continued grumbling, though assured that his creed was Calvinistic, and his piety without a doubt.

“ Whene’er of statesmen we complain,  
 They cry, why raise this vulgar strife so?  
 ’Tis true this tax may give ye pain;  
 But then his lordship loves his wife so.  
 This law, indeed, may gall ye rather;  
 But then his lordship’s such a father.”

Under such a feeling in England we were fast becoming lethargic, and all Europe was falling into decay. Liberty and progress were but names. The seven sleepers might have fallen asleep when George I. ascended the throne, and woke up in the reign of George III., only to find society, in all its dulness and obtuseness, much the same. The age whose slander, and gossip, and tea-table talk still lives in the letters of Walpole, was not an heroic one. How could it be, when it admired the insipid dramas of Hayley, and took its easy tone of morality from the letters of the licentious and accomplished Chesterfield? Philosophy put its eye to the telescope of time, and could see no shadow of a coming change. Goldsmith, it is true, did when he travelled in France; and, on his return to England, said so. But Goldsmith, who—

“ Wrote like an angel, and talked like poor Poll,”

had not the reputation for wisdom in his day which he has in ours. Adam Smith thought that society had become, as it were, stereotyped, and that communities and governments, to the end of the chapter, would remain much the same. The writer of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, regretted that, for the future, history would cease to record those moving incidents which, in all time past, had

lent to its pages excitements, thrilling charms. Thus wrote men whose claims to wisdom had been sanctioned and confirmed by the universal suffrages of the *savants* of Europe. But before the ink was dry, these sage predictions were singularly falsified. A change came, sudden as the lightning's flash. Without a note of warning, without space given for repentance, the haughty aristocracy of France had to pay a terrible atonement for the crimes and follies of the past. In a moment the fury of the storm swept through the land; there was a shaking amongst the dry bones; a hurrying to-and-fro of armed men in the imperial halls of Versailles; the blood of the heir of a hundred kings was spilt like water; a queen, the loveliest and tenderest of her time, was killed as we kill the scum and offscouring of the earth. In laughter and tears, in frenzy and woe, with the shout and the song, with the dance and the dirge, was celebrated that carnival of death. In that dark tragedy there was much to shudder at and deplore—much to sicken the heart and whiten the cheek; but we must remember that it recalled dead principles to life—that it saved Europe from becoming extinct—that it did something more than burn the Bastille, and send to the guillotine as harmless and well-meaning a monarch as ever lived.

In England, great was the alarm felt by the rich and titled when the French revolution commenced. Mr. Wilberforce enters in his diary, under the date 1792—“Heard of the militia being called out, and parliament summoned; talked politics, and of the state of the country, which seems very critical.” Mr. Wywill writes, about the same time—“I cannot omit to communicate to you, by the earliest opportunity, what I have heard since I came hœre, concerning the disposition of the lower people in the county of Durham. Considerable numbers, in Bernard Castle, have manifested disaffection to the constitution; and the words ‘No King!’ ‘Liberty and Equality!’ have been written there upon the market cross.” During the late disturbance among the keelmen at Shields and Sunderland, General Lambton was thus addressed:—“Have you read this little work of Tom Paine’s?” “No.” “Then read it. We will divide your land.” “You will presently spend it in liquor; and what will you do then?” “Why, then, general, we will divide again.” “At Carlisle,” writes Dr. Milner, “we had many reports concerning tumults and sedition; and the affair seemed to be of considerable magnitude.” The doctor is grieved to find that a few gentlemen are disposed to favour French principles; and that Mr. Paley, who, as a moral philosopher and minister of religion, ought to have known better, “is as loose in his politics as he is in his religion.” Writing from Leeds, Mr. Hey says—“Immense pains are now taken to make the lower classes of people discontented, and to excite rebellion. Paine’s mischievous work on the *Rights of Man* is compressed into a sixpenny pamphlet, and is sold and given away in profusion. One merchant in this town ordered 200 of them to be distributed at his expense. You may see them in the houses of our journeymen cloth-dressers. The soldiers are everywhere tampered with; no pains are spared to render this island a scene of confusion.” Almost every one was an alarmist, and bewailed the clouds darkening the political horizon. The English



nation fell into a panic; and when people are panic-struck, it is in vain you appeal to reason. This particular panic was, however, an expensive one. It plunged us into the most fearful warfare in which the nation ever engaged. It was not an easy matter then to do anything without causing a weak brother to offend. Mr. Smith reports to Mr. Wilberforce, that he has placed £50, for a charity, to his credit with his bankers. "I should," he observes, "have done so with more pleasure had Clarkson forborne to mix politics with the subject of the slave-trade when he travelled through the country." Of course there was some ground for this feeling. The Girondists and Cordeliers of the revolution had the sympathies and admiration of many of the English. The members of both clubs set up a monthly review, after the English fashion, in which not only the leader of both parties, but several English people—as John Oswald, Helen Maria Williams, and Horne Tooke, as well as Thomas Paine—wrote. An English deputation, accompanied by some Americans, had presented addresses. The nation remembered how they had been received at the Jacobin club with wonderful *éclat*; how the flags of England, France, and America had been suspended together: how one, from a woman, was delivered, who, at the same time, presented the English with a box containing a map of France divided into the eighty-three departments; a cap of liberty; the new French constitution; their tricolour flags; the national cockade; ears of wheat: and how the clubs had ordered for their hall, busts of, amongst others, Algernon Sydney and Dr. Price.

The Corresponding Society, and the Society for Constitutional Information, kept up an open correspondence with France, even after the September massacres. Unwarned by these acts, they professed to see, in the example of Frenchmen, the only chance of the liberation of the English nation from the oppression of the crown and of an overgrown aristocracy. They made no secret of a desire to establish a republic in this country. These proceedings called forth an opposite class of associations, in which the clergy of the establishment took the lead. The bishop and clergy of Worcester, and Dr. Watson, the bishop, and clergy of Llandaff, met, and presented addresses to the king, expressing their abhorrence of these associations, which made no secret of their demands for the rights of man, liberty and equality, no king and no parliament: and they expressed their conviction that this country already possessed more genuine liberty than any other nation whatever. They asserted that the constitution, the church, and the state, had received more improvements since the revolution of 1688, than in all previous ages; that the dissenters and Catholics had been greatly relieved; the judges had been rendered independent; and the laws, in various ways, more liberalised since the accession of his present majesty, than for several sessions previously. They boldly declared, that in no country could men rise from the lowest positions to affluence and honour by trade, by the practice of the law, by other arts and professions, so well as in this; that the general wealth everywhere visible, the general and increasing prosperity, testified to this fact, in happy contrast to the miserable condition of France. As for the French, they said—

"The excesses of those ruffian demagogues have no bounds: they have already surpassed the wildest frenzies of fanaticism, superstition, and enthusiasm; plundering and murdering at home, and propagating their opinions by the sword in foreign countries. They deal in imposture, fallacy, falsehood, and bloodshed. Their philosophy is the talk of schoolboys; their actions are the savage ferociousness of wild beasts. Such are the new lights and the false philosophy of our pretended reformers; and such the effects they have produced, where alone they have unfortunately been tried." They concluded by recommending the formation of counter-associations in all parts of the country, to diffuse sound constitutional sentiments, and to expose the mischievous fallacies of the democratic societies. This advice was speedily followed, and every neighbourhood became the arena of contending politics; the noble and the wealthy, of course, defending things as they were. "So you wish," said a nobleman to Wilberforce, on a certain occasion—"so you wish, young man, to be reformer of men's morals. Look, then, and see there what is the end of such reformers!"—pointing, as he spoke, to a picture of the crucifixion. In those days it was, indeed, almost impossible for any one to remain neutral;—when Mr. Wilberforce, for instance, was compelled to part with Pitt, on the question of peace and war, to the delight of Mr. Fox, who assured Wilberforce that he would soon have to join their ranks altogether. The same reasons, add his biographers, which led the opposition party to claim him as their own, rendered him suspected by the bulk of sober men. "Your friend, Mr. Wilberforce," said Mr. Wyndham to Lady Spencer, "will be very happy, any morning, to hand your ladyship to the guillotine:" and others, less violent, partook, in a great measure, of the same suspicions. "When I first went to the *levée*, after moving my amendment, the king cut me," writes Mr. Wilberforce in his diary. "Mr. Wilberforce is a very respectable gentleman," said Burke to Mr. Pitt; "but he is not the people of England." The pious dean of Carlisle was intensely frightened. "I hope," he writes to Wilberforce, "you will not prove a dupe to the dishonest opposition, who will be glad to make use of you for hunting down Pitt, and for no other purpose. On Friday night I read over the debates, and I can truly say I was never so much concerned about politics in my life. I was quite low, and so I continue." He adds—"The bulk of people think you are doing a great deal of mischief." "So general, and sometimes so strong, was this feeling, that in one family of my most zealous partisans," writes Wilberforce, "when I visited Yorkshire, even as late as the middle of the summer, the ladies would scarcely speak to me." No wonder. In the same year, Wilberforce enters in his diary—"Papers are dispersed against property—prints of guillotining the king and others;" and, add the biographers, "The king was violently mobbed on his way to parliament. Tumultuary meetings were held in the metropolis; whilst the most inflammatory publications were actively disseminated. Wilberforce set off for a county meeting at York, in Mr. Pitt's carriage, as his own could not be got ready in time." If, they said, one of his friends "find out whose carriage you have got, you will run the risk of being murdered."



The publication of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* caused an immense sensation. Edition after edition was bought up, and greedily devoured. It called forth numerous replies. Sir James Mackintosh (then a briefless barrister) wrote one; Thomas Paine one; and Drs. Price and Priestley preached as well as published in its favour. Ladies also distinguished themselves on the same side; chiefly Mary Woolstoncroft and Mrs. Macaulay. Dr. Priestley was a martyr for his faith. As an illustration of the reactionary spirit of the times, we give an outline of his career. When he commenced his championship of French principles, he had arrived at an age—nearly sixty—when men rarely become great enthusiasts. He was, at the time to which we refer, a Unitarian minister at Birmingham, and was well known for his various theological writings, especially for his *Disquisition on Matter and Spirit*; in which he had argued against the immateriality of the soul. He had been tutor to Lord Shelburne, first Lord Lansdowne; but had quitted the post, as supposed, in consequence of the objection of Lord Shelburne to these principles, retaining a salary of £150 a year. As a natural philosopher Priestley had acquired great fame. His *History of Electricity* had obtained for him the membership of the Royal Society; his election as an associate into the French Academy of Sciences, and the degree of Doctor of Laws from Edinburgh. Of course, in those days, Priestley was regarded as an infidel or atheist; and his work, the *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, was excluded from the public library at Birmingham, though controversial works were freely admitted, and even professed refutations of his works. Priestley, with such prejudices against him, had but little chance of fair play; and when he and his friends, in 1791, resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, Birmingham was shocked, and rose to arms. A few days previous to the celebration, a hand-bill, with no signature or printer's name attached, had been circulated. It ran as follows:—

“My Countrymen!—The second year of Gallic liberty is nearly expired. At the commencement of the third, on the 14th of this month, it is devoutly to be wished that every enemy to civil and religious despotism should give his sanction to the majestic common cause by a public celebration of the anniversary. Remember, that on the 14th of July, the Bastille, that high altar and castle of despotism, fell. Remember the generous humanity that taught the oppressed, groaning under the weight of insulted rights, to save the lives of oppressors. Extinguish the mean prejudices of nations, and let your numbers be collected and sent as a free-will offering to the national assembly. But is it possible to forget that your own parliament is venal; your ministers hypocritical; your clergy legal oppressors; the reigning family extravagant; the crown of a certain great personage becoming every day too weighty for the head that wears it—too weighty for the people who gave it; your taxes partial and oppressive; your representation a cruel insult upon the sacred rights of property, religion, and freedom? But, on the 14th of this month, prove to the political sycophants of the day, that you reverence the olive-branch; that you will sacrifice the public tranquillity till the

majority shall exclaim—"The peace of slavery is worse than the war of freedom." At that moment let tyrants beware."

The authorship of this hand-bill was denied by Priestley and his friends.

On the day of the dinner (which, in consequence of a rumour of an intended riot, Priestley and his friends would have postponed), the magistrates, and friends of order, had a dinner also.

Flushed with wine and loyalty, the latter certainly encouraged the mob, who burnt down Priestley's meeting-house, and another, and then marched to Priestley's residence, where they utterly burned and destroyed all the valuable library, philosophical instruments, and manuscripts containing notes of the doctor's further experiments and discoveries. Fire-engines were called out to prevent the flames of the meeting-houses communicating with the adjoining meeting-houses; but they were not suffered to play on the meeting-houses themselves, nor does any effort appear to have been made to save Priestley's house. The doctor and his family made a timely retreat. He himself passed the two first nights in a post-chaise, and the two succeeding on horseback; but less owing to his own apprehensions of danger than those of his friends. An eye-witness asserts, that the high road, for full half a mile from the doctor's house, was strewn with books; and that on entering the library, there were not a dozen volumes on the shelves; while the floor was covered, several inches deep, with the torn manuscripts.

The next day, reinforced by colliers, and iron-founders, and nail-makers, from Walsall, the mob attacked the villa of Mr. John Ryland, a dissenter, and friend of Priestley. There was good wine there; and after drinking till the burning roof fell in and killed several of them, the mob proceeded to destroy Bardsley Hall, the house of another dissenter. Next they attacked the town prison, and liberated the prisoners. Hutton's place of business and his country residence were the next objects of attack; and he was a man of whom Birmingham had reason to be proud. Nor did the work of destruction end here: the houses of other dissenters suffered in a similar way. This frightful state of things lasted three days, the church-and-king party doing nothing, or next to nothing, to prevent the destruction of the property of dissenters. The magistrates, all the while, contented themselves with issuing the mildest possible proclamations, addressing the rioters as "friends and brother churchmen;" and hinting that they had done enough. They insinuated that these drunken rioters had been doing an acceptable service to their king and country. The riots were not thus to be put down. At length the soldiers appeared, and Birmingham was quiet as ever till the trials commenced, when such was the state of public feeling, that the sufferers were regarded as persons seeking the lives of innocent men, who had only shown their loyalty to church and king. They were declared to be no better than selfish murderers.

Men altered their tone after the French revolution. Before it, the philosopher exclaimed, with Horace—"Odi profanum vulgus." Before it, Frederick the Great, writing to Voltaire, said—"I look upon the people as the deer in a great man's park, whose only business is to people the enclosure." After the French revolu-



tion, such language (as well it might) went out of fashion; and some went so far as to use Bentham's philosophy, and talk about "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Church dignitaries were, at first, shocked with the language. Did not the Bible tell us that the poor were always with us; that they would never cease out of the land; that they were to be thankful to Providence, and starve?

Geologists tell us that, in place of the narrow strait that separates France from England, there was once solid land. Be this as it may, it is clear that what takes place in one country, sooner or later, produces an effect on the other. The French revolution recalled us to the need of progress and liberty—to the need of a freer and fuller development than that existing amongst ourselves. But the excesses of the revolution frightened our governing classes, of whom Pitt was the minister, and led to a policy of repression severer than we can realise. Those were the days when any attempt at reform was silenced by the cry of Jacobinism—when the principle of English policy was that of a sullen, and bigoted, and uncompromising Toryism; and when laws to silence popular discussion, and measures to stifle the expression of opinion, were the ordinary and recognised expedients of government. The result was that the ancient evils of our constitution remained, and that others were created. In the later years of George III. the nation actually receded; our parliaments became more oligarchic; our government more selfish and corrupt; our legislation more tyrannical, and bloodthirsty, and severe. Pitt knew better; but such men as Sidmouth, and Eldon, and Castlereagh, seemed to think that it was only by brute force, by pains and penalties, that the country could be ruled. What a dismal picture of the time is drawn in the *Memoirs* of Romilly and Horner! But this sullen, dark, benighted Toryism was sowing the seed of reform.

Europe had gained nothing by the war; legitimacy was again restored; constitutions, alien to the spirit of the age, were bolstered up a little while longer; sceptres were again grasped by feeble and unworthy hands; gold and force had triumphed; Napoleon was sent to St. Helena; a Bourbon once more inhabited the palaces of France; Poland became the prey of the czar. Across the fair fields of the south floated the eagle of Austrian despotism; Norway was handed over to Sweden; Prussia, for her share of the booty, was satisfied with the Rhenish province, a slice of the duchy of Warsaw, and half Saxony; and, in defiance of the utmost diversity in religion, in language, and in race, Belgium and Holland were united under a common king. But to this latter arrangement there were insurmountable obstacles. Nature forbade the banns, and in 1830 the ill-fated union was dissolved. We came out of the struggle with the hearty hatred of France, the loss of 700,000 British soldiers, and expenditure of nearly £800,000,000, and with an island or two not worth the trouble or the expense of keeping. But this settlement was not a work of spoliation. The holy alliance professed to act on Christian principles. In a manifesto, published by Alexander, the contracting parties "solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution in the administration of their respective states; and, in their political relations with every other government, to

take for their sole guide the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour—namely, the principles of justice, Christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, have an immediate influence on the councils of princes, and guide all their steps; as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying human imperfections.” France, in 1812, embraced a population of more than 50,000,000. It was the boast of Napoleon that the Mediterranean would be but a French lake; but then he was a usurper, and the French were infidels. Castlereagh, and Metternich, and Alexander blotted out Poland, signed away nations and peoples, and acted the robber’s part under the influence of Christian principles. “The holy religion of our Saviour was their sole guide,” so they said. They were honourable men; they could walk up into the temple, and thank God that they were not like the French extortioners, unjust, &c. If they plundered and oppressed, it was in the name of the Lord. He who, with his winds and snows had blasted the proudest legions that ever gathered round Napoleon, could smile on them as on the luxurious *salons* of Vienna: they arrogated the right to themselves to partition out Europe, to hold freedom in chains, and to stay man’s onward march.

England was fast tending to slavery. We quote from Lord John Russell.

“In 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and spies were sent from the Home Office into the manufacturing districts; who, acting according to their nature, and not according to their instructions, stimulated the crimes which were afterwards punished on the scaffold. In 1819, bills were introduced by Lord Castlereagh, as measures of severe coercion. The general state of the laws, finances, and trade of England was most backward. The criminal law was full of capital penalties, some for very trifling offences, such as cutting down a growing tree, or being seen with the face blackened on the high road. Foreign trade was cramped by monopolies and restrictions. Taxes were imposed upon the necessities of life; excise duties were very onerous; and the duties of customs, extending to many hundred articles, produced as much vexation to merchants as revenue to the state. Protestant dissenters were only indirectly admitted to office; Roman Catholics and Jews were expressly excluded both from parliament and political offices; parliamentary reform was successfully opposed. Even when a corrupt borough was extinguished, the populous and flourishing borough of Leeds was not enfranchised, because it would be a novelty. The press was restricted by a fourpenny stamp on each newspaper, and prosecutions were rife against those who had indulged in too great freedom of criticism.”

Popular feeling had but little voice in the House of Commons. The discussions were always more favourable to government than to the former. Lord John Russell gathers this from an analysis of the discussions. He writes—

“On the Walcheren expedition, the English county members, against ministers, were nearly as three to two; but the majority of the whole House was in favour of administration. In 1817, upon the question of appointing a commission with less than five placemen upon it, the county members divided, 27 to 15,



for the opposition ; the House at large, 178 to 136 for ministers. On a motion for reducing the Lords of the Admiralty, the county members were 35 to 16 ; the House, 208 to 152 the other way. It thus appears, that during two periods of crisis, the county members, who, as we have seen, are men of property, inclined to the crown from station, and generally, by party, have been in minorities upon the popular side. It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that other parts of the House of Commons are far indeed from representing the people. The boroughs especially are liable to this censure. The boroughs generally give a large majority to ministers ; but the smaller boroughs give five and six to one, and the Cornish boroughs sixteen or seventeen to one, in their favour."

And now for the wages. Men who sold their votes in parliament were well paid in those days. Lord John Russell writes—

"If we here sum up, in a few words, the influence of the crown, we shall have to reckon new peerages, and steps in the peerage, bestowed with great profusion ; ribbons, blue, red, and green ; six archbishoprics, and forty-two bishoprics, some of them of £20,000, and many above £8,000 a year, in value. Military and civil commands in Ireland, India, Ionian Islands, Cape of Good Hope, &c., &c., &c. Embassies to Paris, Vienna, Petersburg, and Brussels, of £8,000 a year each. Many others of £7,000, £6,000, and £5,000 ; others of £3,000 and £2,000. Ships in the navy ; regiments in the army ; offices of all kinds at home and abroad. More than a million of civil list, containing Lord Chamberlains, Lord Stewards, and numerous inferior offices ; rich livings falling-in every week ; valuable appointments in India, greatly increased in amount. About £2,000,000 for salaries in the offices for collection of the revenue, and £2,000,000 more for expenses. Retired allowances to a tenth of that sum ; clerkships, hospitals, contracts, &c. ; and an establishment costing, on the whole, £18,000,000 a year."

The influences at that juncture, perilous to the constitution, may be summed up as the immense patronage in the hands of the crown ; the corruption of the boroughs ; the horror caused by the French revolution ; the growing disposition of men to cling to ease and quiet as a security for property ; the want of respect for old forms ; the custom, but recently resorted to, of recurring to new remedies and new restraints on the appearance of popular excesses ; and the increase of the number of the people, causing dissensions to kindle more quickly, and appear more formidable than before.

Fortunately, Englishmen were true to themselves and their country. The peace brought with it an opening of men's eyes to the evils which had grown up during the war mania. Lord Castlereagh might coolly intimate that it was a matter of indifference whether we added a million or two to the national debt or not ; and, in his pavilion at Brighton, surrounded by his satellites, the Prince Regent might remain callous and careless as ever. But people were becoming in earnest ; and the country applauded, while Henry Brougham pointed his powerful invective against those who, "in utter disregard of the feelings of an oppressed and insulted nation, proceeded from one wasteful expenditure to another ; who deco-

rated and crowded their houses with the splendid results of their extravagance; who associated with the most profligate of human beings; who, when the gaols were filled with wretches, could not suspend for a moment their thoughtless amusements\* to end the sad suspense between life and death." The colliers, the weavers, the agriculturists, were alike starving; and no wonder was it that then a cry of angry and discontented Radicalism was in our midst. Nor was that Radicalism very easy to put down. It was in vain that a meeting was held at the London Tavern, at which the chair was taken by the Duke of Kent, "to take into consideration the present distressed state of the lower classes, and the most effectual mode of relieving them;" that hand corn-mills were recommended for use, instead of machinery; that men and women were sent into the fields to shell beans; that tracts inculcating resignation to the dispensations of Providence, and obedience to our betters, were lavishly distributed; or charity soup liberally doled out. Reform of the constitution; remission of taxation; abolition of sinecures—these were the angry cries of lean and hungry men. Twopenny trash was circulated; Hampden clubs were organised; weaver boys became orators; and the aristocratic Sir F. Burdett became the leader of unwashed artisans. Government appears to have infused no little dread into the minds of the rich by exaggerating the wild tales of such visionaries as Spence, the Yorkshire schoolmaster, into dangerous conspiracies against church and state. A few spies were found abandoned enough to lie for the handsome rewards offered by government; and a few resolute men were found ready to suffer for the sake of reform—the good old cause for which Hampden, and Russell, and Sydney bled.

Wilberforce was one of the alarmists. He writes—

"A letter recently received from Morritt, paints, in very glowing colours, the state of the manufacturing part of our great country. In Leicester the lower orders are in the habit of meeting by night, in parties of twenty-five, to practise the pike exercise." He refers to them as sucking in the poison of Carlisle and such other venomous beings. "In 1819, the worst feature was the zeal of the disaffected against the Christian faith—what your lordship," Wilberforce reminds Lord Milton, amongst the papers of the Secret Committee, "gave me but too much reason to fear—that the enemies of our political constitution were also enemies to our religion. Heretofore they inveighed against the inequality of property, and used every artifice to alienate the people from the constitution of their country. But now they are sapping the foundations of the social edifice more effectually by attacking Christianity. The newspapers," he adds, "are the greatest, if not the very greatest evils of the country." "Have you reflected," he asks Dr. Chalmers, "on the effects produced in this country by the newspapers? They are almost incalculably great; and, on the whole, I fear very injurious." And this is the language of a man who was a reformer, and a philanthropist, and one of the ablest and most influential men of his time. We have grown wiser, and now acknowledge that the newspaper, by its dissemination of error, and its utterance

\* At that time there were fifty-eight people in Newgate sentenced to death.



of the truth—by its circulation in all corners of the land—by the light it sheds upon public life, is the cause and guarantee of political freedom and national progress. In the freedom of the press we have the surest basis on which society can build.

But it was vain that a system of terrorism was resorted to. Men were aroused, and in earnest; and this time there were no means of staving off the popular demands. Ireland was not in a state of unusual discontent. There was no French Alexander with whom to wage war. We were in a state of profound peace. In parliament, and out, there was progress; and when Paris had its “three days of July,” the popular excitement here came to a head, and the long struggle for reform ended in triumph. Statesmen now began to believe in progress, and to look for better days. From our national history they had begun to elucidate the truth, that progress and the power of the people went hand-in-hand; to have faith in the future rather than in the past; to refuse to take their stand upon old ways and old traditions; to revolve the fact—

“That God fulfils himself in many ways,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt a world.”

The croakers had a terrible time of it, as they saw the old landmarks removed; rotten boroughs done away with; persecution to Catholics, and penal laws against dissenters brought to an end; sinecures abolished, and monopolies destroyed. “In my day,” says Graves, in Sir Bulwer Lytton’s play of *Money*, “I have seen already eighteen crises; six annihilations of agriculture and commerce; four overthrows of the church; and three last and irremediable destructions of the entire constitution.” It must have been really ludicrous to have lived in those days, and listened to the groans, and tears, and terrors of such good old Tories as Lord Eldon, who thought that the end of the world had come. Even in our day, Sir A. Alison is almost as broken-hearted as he records the progress of liberal principles. The more philosophical De Tocqueville sees not only England, but all the nations of the earth, progressing to democracy, as surely as the tide of civilisation and life is now rushing from east to west. Again, let us glance at the past. Greece fed and fired the human intellect; government, organisation, law, came from Rome. A yet nobler mission pertained to the Jews; but they vanished. Then came the new creed, which, linked with men of Anglo-Saxon race, has taught man, in Europe and America—in the old world and the new—to be free.

When Lord Palmerston, even, commenced his political career, few cared to know, or did know, anything about political economy. Lord Derby tells he was born before the scientific era; and this is equally true of Lord Palmerston. In those days we hear little of social or sanitary reform. No one could think of anything but the tremendous struggle for existence with Napoleon, in which the country was involved. The war had made bread dear; but the starving poor believed that they were the victims of combinations of corn-factors and bakers; and that if these conspirators could be forced to bring their goods to market again,

there would be cheapness and plenty in the land. In this respect the educated classes failed as much as the ignorant. No one knew anything of political economy. Fox, the glory of the Whigs, knew nothing of it. Lawyers, statesmen, and charity-boys were all equally ignorant on this subject. Men were sent to prison for buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest. Lord Warwick rejoiced, in his place in the House of Lords, that there had been 400 convictions for forestalling, regrating, and monopolising. When a Mark-lane corn-dealer, named Rusby, had been convicted of purchasing, by sample, ninety quarters of wheat, and selling forty of them the same day, in the same market, at 44s., the Lord Chief Justice said to the jury—"You have conferred, by your verdict, almost the greatest benefit on your country that was ever conferred by any jury." Such was the language of the best and wisest in the country fifty years since. We have wonderfully altered since then. Our poet-laureate writes about the long, long canker of peace: and peace undoubtedly enervates, and renders people careless and impatient, and absorbed too much in the pursuit of material wealth. But peace also has its blessings, in the time it gives us for reflection; in the mental and moral elevation of the labouring classes, which it enables us to effect; and in the golden gains of wisdom and virtue it gives to all. Let us not undervalue peace. Peace saved us, when it came, under the regency, from bankruptcy and civil war. Had it not been for peace, England would have become a waste, howling wilderness.

Fifty years ago men hated the French—believed that one Englishman was equal to three Frenchmen; and as to Bonaparte, he was, in the popular estimation, only second to Old Nick. We have learned to do Napoleon the justice which our fathers denied him—to recognise his magnificent genius for the work of destruction, and his gigantic powers. It was not so when Palmerston was young. We have seen a famous caricature by Gillray, in which the feeling of the time was admirably embodied. "Farmer George," in it, figures in his wig and Windsor uniform, as the king of Brobdignag; and the emperor as a little Gulliver, whom George holds in his hand, and surveys through a magnifying-glass with patronising pity. Even Southey, in his savage verse, did but express the intense character of the feeling entertained by the English nation towards the man who had defied and disturbed them in all quarters of the globe—who had been to them as the terror by night, and the arrow that flyeth by day—to grapple with whom, all classes, from the highest to the lowest in the land, had given up their treasures and their best beloved; and whose successes had saddened many a home, and left many a widow to mourn, and starve, and die. In the verses to which we refer, Southey writes—

" 'Twas as much too cold upon the road  
As it was too hot in Moscow;  
But there is a place which he must go to,  
Where the fire is red, and the brimstone blue.  
Morbleu! Parbleu!  
He'll find it much hotter than Moscow."



The feeling was still cherished long, long after Napoleon had lost his power. "I came," wrote Mr. Thackeray, "from India as a child; and our ship touched at an island on the way home, where my black servant took me a long walk, over rocks and hills, until we reached a garden, where we saw a man walking. 'That is he,' said the black man; 'that is Bonaparte! He eats three sheep a-day, and all the little children he can lay hands on.'" Well might Mr. Thackeray add—"There were people in the British dominions, beside that poor Calcutta serving-man, with an equal horror of the Corsican ogre." The old woman, of whom Miss Knight writes in her *Autobiography*, was not so overcome by fear. Referring to the great invasion of 1804, she tells us—"A gentleman, who was fishing at this time in a sequestered spot from London, was accosted by an old woman of the neighbourhood, who entered into conversation with him on various matters. After a little, he asked her if she were not alarmed about Bonaparte's landing in the island? 'Oh dear, no,' she answered, 'I am up to all that. He was expected here when I was a young woman; and he nearly came at that time: they called him the Pretender, and now they call him Bonaparte.'" This feeling was not uncommon. Much as Englishmen hated Bonaparte, in an equal manner did they despise and underrate the French. At this very time, when Pitt had placed himself as Lord Warden of 3,000 volunteers—when an army of thousands of veterans, flushed with victory, and embittered by former disappointments, lay just across the Channel, ready to invade our ships—when pious Wilberforce went to Bath to pray, Dr. Milner writes him, from a northern town where he was staying—"Literally and verily, there seems here not the smallest concern about the war. I never saw a place so involved in worldly affairs. It is shocking: it is affecting beyond measure." Wilberforce, in a letter to his friend Hey, writes—"The most enlightened and experienced in naval matters, in this part of the world, are most alarmed." Bonaparte himself, perhaps, wished the English to regard him as an ogre. "Let me tell you," writes Wilberforce to Thomas Babington, Esq., "while I think of it, that the accounts you will see in the newspapers of Bonaparte's violent language and demeanour towards Lord Whitworth at Madame Bonaparte's drawing-room, are substantially true. He spoke loud enough to be heard by 200 people, and his countenance was perfectly distorted with passion."

One of Bonaparte's generals, in the true spirit of his school, is said to have declared—"Let me land with 100,000 men in England; and I do not say I will keep possession of the country for France; but this I say, that the country shall be brought into such a state, that no Englishman shall be able to live in comfort in it for a hundred years." The people hated Bonaparte; and they had every reason to do so. They rejoiced when they heard that his armies had wasted away; and when the news came that he had retired to Elba, and that the king had got his own again, people breathed more freely, and society flattered itself that legitimacy had triumphed over the ambition of a usurper.

In our times, statesmanship has almost ceased to be a party warfare. The true statesman is he who understands the signs of the times, and obeys the

spirit of the age. A paternal government, or a wise despotism, is fatal to progress and life. Let a nation be ruled, and not rule, and its decay is inevitable. Let a state be given up to a despotism, however paternal, however beneficent, the greatness of that nation, in spite of its apparent splendour and power, is short-lived, and built upon the sand. Where there is no political liberty there must be intellectual stagnation and decay. Under the empire in France, as it is now, this is but too apparent. The greatest men in France have been driven into exile; the press is gagged; political liberty is denied; and the Frenchman of to-day has no religion, no lofty faith—is sunk in sensualism and the worship of worldly success. It is true the emperor has done much for France—that he has blessed it richly with wealth and peace; but even these may be purchased at too dear a price. It is not to make money, or to dance and sing, that man is born into the world. A nation has a grander thing to do than to become rich or gay. “Unless,” writes Mr. Mill, in his invaluable work on Liberty—“unless individuality shall be able to assert itself, Europe, notwithstanding its noble antecedents and its professed Christianity, will tend to become another China.” In France this is emphatically the case. Wilhelm von Humboldt points out two things as necessary conditions of human development, because needful to render people unlike one another—namely, freedom, and variety of situation. The more people are split up into nationalities, the greater chance there is of freedom and individual liberty. In theory universal empire is grand and imposing, but in practice it is fraught with innumerable ills. The real life of the French empire, at this moment, is sustained and fed by its exiles, who, from Belgium and other smaller states, utter the truth, which, in France, no man dare say.

Among the nations foremost for its Christian creed and northern blood, is our own sea-girt isle; and the former, asserting, as it does, man’s equality—the nothingness of earthly distinction—the common judgment awaiting the wronger and the wronged—sanctions and refines the democracy which had its birth beneath the forests of beech that bordered the shores of the Baltic. Priestism may have frowned upon the common weal—may have identified itself with a class; but Christianity, properly understood and rightly applied, must have an opposite effect. Only the historian of a party, such as Alison undoubtedly is, can assert that it is obnoxious to democracy; or, because suffering is essential to the purification of the human heart, can, for a moment, defend the imperfection that at present attaches, more or less, to all present political arrangements. The clash of Conservatism with the onward march of progress, is by no means to be deprecated as an ill. Humanity has shown brightest in the hour of its darkest struggles. Wars, and sufferings, and distress often make nations, like individuals, stronger and more daring. It would require the most profound ignorance of history, for a man to class the contest that gave the victories of Marathon and Salamis to the Greeks—that decided, for ever, the fate of Carthage—that roused up, in the middle ages, the warm-hearted followers of the Crescent and the Cross—that drove away the degenerate Stuarts from the throne they had neither the courage nor the dignity to fill—that laid the



foundation of American independence—that threw down, in France, feudalism and the Bastille—among the least illustrious events which occupy and illustrate the annals of the world.

Such struggles we have had; such we may continue to have. From the elements of discord around, and ever around us, we may conclude that we shall have storms to weather, severe as any which have awakened the energy and heroism of our countrymen in days gone by. Indeed, from the past we can best anticipate the future. The historian, in some degree, acts the part of a prophet. There is order, and law, and unity in the world's development. Not by accident is modern history rich in the possession of the new blood and creed, for want of which the glory of Athens, Corinth, and Rome passed away as a dream. Not that England may perish does that new blood course through the veins, and that new creed fructify in the hearts of her sons. Two acts seem to compose the great drama of time. With ancient history closed the one; when the other shall terminate is alone known to Him who "sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and before whom the nations are as the small dust of the balance." As we have seen, the analogy that would lead us to talk of the youth, and manhood, and decay of nature, as of men, is totally false. Decay has been the result, not of old age, against which no skill of the body politic could avail; but of causes the results of which might have been foreseen, and provided against. Peopled cities, it is true, have become solitary wastes; thrones and sceptres have moulded into dust: the crowded streets of ancient capitals; the busy haunts of men, where beauty thrilled, where riches dazzled, where luxury enslaved, where science taught, where idolatry debased, where rival factions armed and harangued, contended, and won, are silent and deserted as the grave. But we see no reason to believe that in Paris will be renewed the fate of Palmyra, or that St. Paul's, like the Coliseum, will remain a melancholy memorial of the past. In the development of popular progress, we see one additional reason why such a catastrophe is unlikely to occur.

The more of power and responsibility a man has, the more the man within him is developed and matured. This is a great fundamental truth, sanctioned by the experience of every age and clime. There is a vast difference between a slave and a free man; but a Brazilian slave does not differ more from a Finland serf, than does a citizen of New York or London differ from one of Vienna or Berlin. Give the latter his cup of coffee, his theatre, and his cigar, and he is content: the other must have his liberty to think, and speak, and act. In our day a statesman has little to do but to catch, and understand, and obey the spirit of the age. It was sometimes said of Lord Palmerston, as a reproach, that he sailed with the times—that he had no settled convictions. Herein his lordship showed his true wisdom.

It is not too much to say that Lord Palmerston's success was due to his recognition of these truths—to his belief in progress—the progress which has saved England from the fate of Rome. Since 1820, legislation has been, more or less, in accordance with these facts. A revolution has been gradually altering the aspect and condition of English society. The England that rejoices in the mild sway of Queen

Victoria—that rejoices in its reformed parliament—a representation still aristocratic, yet fairly embodying the will of the nation—that has witnessed the principles of religious liberty carried out, to a considerable extent, in Catholic emancipation; the repeal of laws that weighed heavily on nonconformists; and the restraint laid on a dominant establishment—that will yet witness religious equality—that has seen the magnificent triumphs of free trade, and is reaping its vast and growing advantages—that has happily felt the reforming hand applied to remove patrician abuses, ministerial jobbing, and Court influence—that has purged our law from its worst defects of chicane, costliness, and unjust barbarity—that has made a progress in material wealth that would amaze our fathers of the days of George IV.; and that can, even now, boast that her class dissensions have nearly disappeared—is an England very different to that of George IV. and Queen Caroline; of Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and the Six Acts; of selfish oligarchy in church and state; of Manchester disaffection and chartism. “For thirty years,” writes Lord John Russell, “the Reform Bill has been part and parcel of the constitution of these realms. For thirty years the constitution has been more loved and respected than it ever was before. For thirty years, the success of measures proposed, after free and general discussion, has been no longer obstructed by the nominees of individuals, or by representatives who purchased seats for corrupt boroughs, in order to protect monopoly, maintain colonial slavery, and reject the claims of civil and religious freedom. The prerogatives of the crown, under the operation of the Reform Act, in spite of many prophecies to the contrary, have been secure. As little can it be affirmed that the authority of the House of Lords has been infringed or menaced. But the functions of the House of Commons have grown. It is theirs to guard the rights and liberties of the people; to protect every subject of the realm in the enjoyment of his property and rights; to point out to the crown, by extending to one party, and refusing it to another, which is the party, and who are the statesmen, qualified to guide this mighty empire.”

Lord John Russell sums up the legislation of the last forty years. We quote his remarks, as a rapid outline of Lord Palmerston’s political and ministerial career. His lordship says—

“I find parliament reformed; slavery abolished; Test and Corporation Acts repealed; Roman Catholic disabilities repealed; Jewish disabilities partially repealed; tithes commuted in England and Ireland; municipal corporations reformed in England, Scotland, and Ireland; poor-laws, reformed in England, enacted in Scotland and Ireland; bishops’ revenues equalised in England; large sums made applicable to spiritual destitution and small livings; education of the poor promoted; customs’ duties reduced from many hundred to twelve; differential duties abolished; protection duties repealed or reduced; corn-laws repealed; taxes on glass, wax candles, paper, newspaper stamps, and many other articles, repealed.”

But while these things happened, England’s attention was not, by any means, confined to domestic policy. Her foreign policy was comprehensive and energetic,



and mostly under the control of Lord Palmerston. His lordship began life early, when all Europe was banded against France, and when England was at the head of the confederacy.

The history we shall have to write will be one of unsurpassed interest in every corner of the globe. When Palmerston commenced his career, Europe was in arms against France—aggressive and domineering. The time had passed when the French had been hailed as the forerunners of liberty and peace. Their insolence and organised exactions proved grievous in the extreme; and the hardship was felt as the more insupportable when the administrative powers gave to them the form of a regular tribute, and conducted the riches of conquered Europe, in a perennial stream, to the imperial treasury. A unanimous cry of indignation arose from every part of the continent. A crusade of the sufferers was undertaken in all quarters. From the east and west, from the north and south, the liberating warriors came forth. At the commencement of the revolution, Catherine of Russia had said, that the only way to prevent its principles spreading, and to save Europe from convulsions, was to engage in war, and cause the national to supersede the social passions. But now people were fighting, not against the revolution, but against the aggression, audacity, and ambition of one man. Europe felt as if it had a load weighing down its very life—choking its free utterance—impeding its civilisation—breaking its heart; and it made a convulsive effort to be relieved of this domineering oppressor—to get rid of Bonaparte, not of Bonapartism. This is what the war which culminated in the fall of the French emperor had come to be. “Securely cradled amidst the waves,” writes Sir A. Alison, “England, like her immortal chief at Waterloo, calmly awaited the hour when she might be called on to take the lead in the terrible strife. Her energy, when it arrived, rivalled her former patience in privation, her fortitude in suffering; and the only one nation which, throughout the struggle, had been unconquered, at length stood foremost in the fight, and struck the final and decisive blow for the deliverance of the world. But the triumph of armies did not end the war of opinion: French principles were as potent, and persuasive, and all-permeating as ever.”

The period of peace which followed is deeply interesting. The resumption of cash payments in 1819, was not, to outward appearance, so striking an event as the battle of Austerlitz; but it was followed by results of equal importance. The revolution of 1830 elevated the middle class in the direction of affairs; and the Reform Bill, in England, had a similar effect. Vast consequences followed this all-important change in both countries. For the first time in the history of mankind, the experiment was made of vesting the electoral franchise, not in a varied or limited class, as in England, or in the whole citizens, as in France or America, but in persons only of certain money qualifications. The franchise was not materially changed in France; but the general arming of the national guard, and the revolutionary nature of the new government, effectually secured attention to the wishes of the burgher aristocracy. In England they were at once invested with the command of the state; for the House of Commons was returned by a million of

electors, who voted for 658 members, of whom two-thirds were the representatives of boroughs, and two-thirds of their constituents shopkeepers, or persons whom they influenced. The first effect of this identity in feeling and interest in the class then, for the first time, invested with the practical direction of affairs, in both countries, was a close political alliance between their governments, and an entire change in the foreign policy of Great Britain. In the vehement hostility and rivalry of 400 years, there succeeded an alliance sincere and cordial at the time. The consequence was, that the czar, on his march to Paris, was arrested on the Vistula; and Austria and Prussia dared not to interfere, as England and France were united. Ancient alliances were broken, and long-established jealousies for a time laid aside. Negro emancipation followed. Canada shared in the moral earthquake which shook the globe, and was only preserved by the courage of its soldiers, and the loyalty of its English and Highland citizens. The monarchies of Spain and Portugal were overturned; while, in the east of Europe, the last remnants of Polish nationality were destroyed by Russian armies on the banks of the Vistula.

We pass on to years fraught with changes of the most momentous character to the future fortunes of Great Britain and the whole civilised world. We witness the second expedition into Affghanistan, and the capture of Cabul; the conclusion of a glorious peace with China, under the walls of Nankin; the conquest of Scinde, and desperate passage of armies on the Sutlej. Never did appear, in more striking colours, the superiority of the arms of civilisation over those of barbarism.

Pass we on from the overthrow of Louis Philippe, in 1848, to the seizure of supreme power by Louis Napoleon, in 1852—a period, beyond all example, rich in external and internal events of the very highest moment, and attended by lasting consequences in every part of the world. It witnessed the spread of revolution in Germany and Italy, and the desperate military struggle to which it gave rise; the brief, but memorable, campaign in Hungary; and the suppression of chartist physical-force demonstrations in England and Ireland, by the patriotism of the people, and the firmness of the government. Interesting, however, as these events are, they yield, in ultimate importance, to those which, at the same period, were in progress in the distant parts of the earth. The rich territories of the Punjaub were added to the British possessions in India. At the same time the aggressive and ever-moving Anglo-Saxon race overran Mexico, conquered California, and discovered gold mines of vast extent, and surpassing riches, hitherto unknown to man. The simultaneous discovery of mines of the same precious metal in Australia, acted as a magnet, which attracted the stream of migration and civilisation, for the first time in the history of mankind, to the Eastern world; and an annual emigration of 100,000 Anglo-Saxons, laid the foundation of another England in that vast tract of land. When, by the consequences of the French revolution, the discovery of steam-conveyance, the improvement of machinery, and the vast extension of European emigration, a still greater impulse was given to the human species in the nineteenth century, the gold mines of California and Australia were brought into



operation, and the increase in human numbers and transactions was even exceeded by the means provided for conducting them. "If ever," writes Sir A. Alison, an author with whom it is not possible often to agree—"if ever the benevolence of the Almighty was ever clearly revealed in human affairs, it was in these two decisive discoveries made at such periods; and he who is, on considering them, not persuaded of an ever-watchful Providence, would not be convinced though one rose from the dead." And subsequent years, have they not been as full of matters of breathless interest and wonder? The Crimean campaign; the fierce and terrible mutiny in India; the revival of the French empire with a lustre and splendour of which Frenchmen never could have dreamt; the war in Italy, where France won the laurels of Magenta and Solferino; the dazzling and spotless romance of Garibaldi's career; the attempt of the slave-owners of South America to defeat and defy the energy, freedom, and wealth, as regards men or treasure, or public spirit and principle, of the free states of the North. Was ever a page of history more rich in noble endeavours? Nor would we omit the last faint effort of Polish nationality, or the gallant stand Denmark made fighting for her own. In all the details connected with these matters Lord Palmerston had much to do: in more stirring times, perhaps, an English statesman was never called upon to act. We must ask the reader, then, to accompany us into every corner of the globe—to watch the actors, and the results at which, successfully or not, with more or less of candour or wit, they aim. We shall find that, with the most accomplished of them, Lord Palmerston was ready to hold his own. Especially as regards this country, it will be clear, how, beginning with no pretence or affectation—not even appearing in any way ambitious, or desirous of fame, or public applause—holding, apparently, quite contentedly for years, a subordinate position—by no means going out of the way to call attention to himself or his doings—his lordship grew to be thought more of by parliament and the public; to become dearer and dearer to the national heart; till, for years, the nation felt him to be her only possible ruler; and, when he suddenly, but not unexpectedly passed away from us, mourned his death as an irretrievable loss.

Lord Palmerston's maiden speech, in the House of Commons, was in defence of the seizure, by the British, of the Danish fleet.

He became Secretary at War, under Perceval, and held his post twenty years.

Under Canning, Lord Palmerston became a cabinet minister.

His lordship joined the reform party, and, when they triumphed, was made Foreign Secretary. It was owing chiefly to him that Leopold became King of the Belgians. In his capacity of Foreign Minister, his lordship assisted to establish an independent kingdom in Greece, and to promote constitutional government in Spain and Portugal. Another question, dear to him, was the independence of Turkey: indeed, in this matter, we nearly went to war with France. It was only by rare dexterity that the evil was avoided.

When the Melbourne ministry went out of office, Lord Palmerston became one of the leaders of the opposition.

On his return to office, in 1846, Lord Palmerston again became Foreign Secretary. He was in office when the French revolution took place, and Louis Philippe was driven from France. In the various difficult questions of public interest which the revolutionary movements of the time originated, he exhibited his favourite policy of lending the moral weight of England's opinions to struggling nationalities.

In 1850, his policy in regard to Greece was condemned by a deliberate vote of the peers; but the vote of the House of Commons was in his favour.

In 1851, Lord Palmerston hastened to express to Louis Napoleon his approbation of the *coup-d'état*, and, in consequence, was dismissed from office.

In 1852, Lord Palmerston became Home Secretary, when the Aberdeen administration was formed.

In February, 1855, he was called upon to form the ministry by which the Russian war was brought to a close. It was during this administration that a Chinese war broke out, and that the Indian mutiny was suppressed.

Lord Palmerston's government was overthrown in February, 1858, for introducing the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, shortly after Orsini's attempt on the life of the French emperor.

In June of the succeeding year he formed an administration, which lasted up to the time of his death. At the general election, which had just been concluded, his lordship had secured, apparently, a larger majority than ever.

In 1861, he was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle.

In 1862, his lordship was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow; and, in 1863, he was chosen Master of the Trinity House.

Lord Palmerston had sat in sixteen parliaments, and been elected to sit in the seventeenth. He served, in official positions, four monarchs—George III., George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria.

At the time of his decease, Lord Palmerston was the oldest member, or "Father," of the House of Commons, having held a seat in St. Stephen's since 1807, with the interruption of only three months in the winter of 1834-'35.

As a rule, he enjoyed superb bodily health; and one of the reasons was, that, be it late or early when he escaped from state affairs, he always insisted upon giving himself seven hours and a-half of good sleep. If he could not get away home till 4 A.M., he bade his servants leave him undisturbed till noon.

It must have been in Dugald Stewart's class-room that a phrase, which he often turned to good account in his speeches, and, on one memorable occasion, with most brilliant effect, first caught his fancy, and left upon it an indelible impression—"The fortuitous concourse of atoms."

He was much gratified, at the time, by something which reached him from Cobden's death-bed. The great free-trader was talking with his physicians a little while before he died, and said, in a low and gentle tone—"Ah, Palmerston was a very generous enemy!"



About the year 1820, Lord Palmerston was best known as the "Man of Fashion," in great repute at Almack's, and famous in the waltz. At this particular period, Lady Cowper, destined at a later period to become Lady Palmerston, was one of the leaders of fashion in that peculiarly exclusive temple of fame.

Almost all his political contemporaries who took a leading position, whether in the Whig or in the Tory ranks, were Cambridge men. If Byron, Coleridge, and Wordsworth are to be classed among our greatest poets, it would appear that, in other departments than that of politics, Cambridge had, at the beginning of the present century, a pre-eminence over the sister university of Oxford.

In his first twenty years of office, he probably did not rise to address the House of Commons on any subject beyond his own department more than a dozen times; and, curiously enough, on those rare occasions, it was not to questions of foreign policy, in which, as a War Minister, it might be supposed that he would be chiefly interested, that his attention was turned.

It is a curious fact, that, to the end of his days, Lord Palmerston was not a graceful public speaker. He wanted that fluency of speech which is often but the mask of a weak mind, but without which no man can be an orator. To the last there was an hesitancy about his address, a fastidious search after the felicitously exact word, which repaid the audience when it came, but which was often painful in the search, and was accompanied with an odd gesticulation, as if the minister was jerking the phrase out of himself.

Besides the toil of debate and incessant watching in the House of Commons, his office-work was enormous. His despatches, all written in that fine bold hand which he desired to engraft upon the Foreign Office, are innumerable. His minutes upon every conceivable subject of interest in the last fifty years would fill many volumes, and it is to be hoped that some of them will be published. Moreover, in private, he was always ready to write for the information of his friends, and he always wrote well. It is said by a writer in the *Times*, that generally he wrote standing.

With all his official labours, he kept his hold on society, and enjoyed life like a youth. Lord Palmerston—and in this Lady Palmerston resembles him—was, in his very nature, genial and social. They loved society. In the country, as in town, their hospitality was unbounded. A large family circle continually gathered about them, reinforced by whoever was remarkable for political, literary, or artistic eminence—for sport, for travel, for military or naval exploits. Yet the host and hostess were never rich until latterly; and, even at last, their means were as nothing when compared with the opulence of many who never open their doors except to the members of a coterie.

Such a career of perpetual activity is rarely vouchsafed to any man. Modern history may be said almost to commence with the French revolution; and with the actors in that drama, and its friends and foes, he must, more or less, have been in communication. He was brought up in the age of Pitt and Fox, of Sheridan

and Burke, of Wilberforce and Canning, of Castlereagh, Eldon, and Wellington. In all the great battles, by means of which the country has been saved from despotism, and the constitution strengthened, repaired, and made popular, Viscount Palmerston took no undistinguished part. Many years ago, Sir Archibald Alison, a political opponent, said of him—"If there is any British statesman of his age who has acquired a European reputation, it may safely be pronounced to be Lord Palmerston, whose name will be for ever associated with the great change in our foreign policy, and the substitution of Liberal for Conservative alliances. Foreign nations, not aware of the vital change which the Reform Bill made in our government, ascribe this change chiefly, if not entirely, to his individual influence; and according as their statesmen and historians belong to the democratic or monarchical party, he is the object either of vehement laudation or of impassioned hatred. In truth, however, he is not the fit object of the praise he has received, or the vituperation with which he has been encountered. In a despotic country, a minister may impress his own principles upon the measures of government; in a constitutional one he must receive it from the legislature. The Reform Bill having vested the government of England in the class of urban shopkeepers, the majority of whom are imbued with liberal principles, the carrying out of their wishes into our foreign policy became a matter of necessity, to which every minister, however otherwise inclined, must bend." Lord Palmerston lived in a transition state, and he reflected his age; and when he died he had outlived all party animosities. Never, perhaps, has a man, who in his time had created such a variety of feeling, and made for himself so many temporary enemies, been so generally mourned.



# LIFE AND TIMES

OF

## VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE PALMERSTONS.

WHEN, in October, 1865, it was known to all England that her foremost man, Viscount Palmerston, had been struck down by death, in all circles of society, amongst all classes and conditions of men, everything respecting the career and early training of the deceased was assiduously sought after and greedily devoured. His lordship had reached such a ripe old age, had played so many parts, had acquired such popularity, had achieved such a world-wide fame, and, at the same time, till late in life, had so little put himself in public, that every one was anxious to learn something of him and his doings. Not merely did the nation lament the loss of a statesman who, by his masterly assiduity, had preserved England, politically and in other ways, in peace—who had lived in stirring times, and acquitted himself bravely in them all—who had not merely intrigued with Talleyrand, Metternich, and Nesselrode, but who had sided with Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington when Catholic emancipation had to be ceded; with Lord Russell, when reform had to be carried; with Cobden, when monopoly had to be destroyed; and whose years and services had been protracted to a length rare in the annals of our own or other lands—but it was known that the last of the Temples had left no successor behind him: and to all there was something very melancholy in the thought that one of the great governing families of England had become extinct, and that, from the roll of nobility, had been blotted out one of its most illustrious names.

Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston, First Lord of the Treasury, M.P., K.G., G.C.B., P.C., was born in London, October 20, 1784. Of his mother's family we know but little: she was the only daughter of Benjamin Mee, Esq.

The family of Temple is an ancient one. It is said they are descended from the stout old Earl Leofric, of the Confessor's time, and his lady Godiva, who saved Coventry from a harsh impost by riding through the market-place clad only in her beautiful long hair. The tale is, let us hope, true; but the connection of it with the Palmerston pedigree is the work of later times. Dugdale knew nothing of it, though he gives a full account of the earl's real successors and family in his *Baronage*, and much information about him, his wife, and their pious and generous doings, in his *Warwickshire*. Burton, a Leicestershire squire, in his *Leicestershire*, knew nothing of it; and, in speaking of the lands of Temple in Sparkenhoe Hundred, near Bosworth, from which the whole family of Temple derived its name, tells us—"This land was granted by one of the old Earls of Leicester to the Knights Templars. This land was afterwards granted by the Templars to a family of the place, called Temple, being of great account in those

parts." Burton, then, knew nothing of the Saxon origin of the family; and it is certain that, in the famous Sir William's time, they looked upon themselves as having come in with the Conquest.

The first Temple, patent to history, is one Robertus de Temple Hall. A well-informed writer in the *Cornhill Magazine*, says—"Robertus de Temple was succeeded by William, and by Henry, flourishing in the reign of Edward I., whose marriage with Matilda, daughter of John Ribbesford, is the first that we find upon record. The five generations which followed allied themselves with Langley, Barwell, Dubernon, Bracebridge, and Kingscott, and the family ranked among the oldest and most considerable of the Leicestershire gentry. By siding, however, with Richard III., they lost most of their estate. Soon after the Reformation, what was left came into the possession of some other Temples from Staffordshire, carrying different coat-armour. And at last, they, too, sold both the lands and the hall; and though some, prosperous cadets of the house—such as the celebrated Sir William and his father—were anxious to recover it, they never could.

"We must now turn our attention to those cadets, for it was among them that appeared the eminent men to whom the name owes its modern celebrity. During the reign of Henry VI., a younger son of Temple, of Temple Hall, named Thomas, settled himself at Witney in Oxfordshire. In three generations his descendants had acquired land in Warwickshire; and in the sixteenth century his representative acquired Stowe in Buckinghamshire. This was Peter Temple, of Marston-Boteler in Warwickshire, and Stowe in Bucks, whose eldest son, John, was the ancestor of the Temples of Stowe, and his second, Anthony, of the Viscounts Palmerston. John lies buried at Derset, in Warwickshire, with the following quaint epitaph, testifying to his general felicity and opulence:—

"Cur liberos hic plurimos,  
Cur hic amicos plurimos,  
Et plurimas pecunias,  
Vis scire cur reliquerit?  
TEMPELLUS ad plures abiit."

"The son of this prosperous gentleman was Sir Thomas Temple, of Stowe, the first baronet. The second and third baronets both sat for the town of Buckingham in the parliaments of the Charleses. The fourth—Sir Richard—fought under Marlborough, and was created Baron Cobham in 1714, and, in 1718, Viscount Cobham, with remainder to his sister Hester, wife of Richard Grenville, of Wooton. This is the Cobham of Pope's well-known lines:—

"And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath,  
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:  
Such in those moments as in all the past,  
Oh, save my country, Heaven! shall be your last."

"Lord Cobham died without issue in 1749, when his barony and viscounty devolved on his sister, Hester Grenville, mother of the first Earl Temple, ancestress of the Dukes of Buckingham, and, what is of much more moral interest, grandmother of William Pitt. If, again, to quote Aristotle, 'the having had many illustrious persons in the family' is a necessary mark of nobility, then this is an honour in which the Temples excel houses of much higher pretension.

"While the Temple tree planted in Stowe was thus flourishing, the branch sprung from Anthony, younger son of Peter Temple, first of Stowe, had acquired a less splendid position, but a more brilliant name. Anthony's son William, bred at Eton, and Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, became, in the first half of Elizabeth's reign, master of the free school at Lincoln. A Latin essay on a philosophical subject, which he dedicated, in 1581, to Sir Philip Sydney, won the admiration of that last rose of the summer of chivalry, who took Temple into his employment as a secretary, and into his intimacy as a friend. Sir Philip died in his arms at Arnheim; and, dying, commended him to the Earl of Essex,



besides leaving him, by will, an annuity of thirty pounds. The friend of Sydney became the friend of Devereux; and having lost one patron on the field, lost another on the scaffold. After the death of Essex, Temple went to seek his fortunes in Ireland. He became Provost of Dublin College, which he represented in the Irish parliament in 1613. He was afterwards a Master in Chancery, and a knight, and he died at an advanced age in 1625. From this Sir William Temple, the first of the family connected with Ireland, the late Lord Palmerston was sixth in descent. By his wife, a Derbyshire woman, William left a son who became Sir John Temple, and who sustained the intellectual reputation which the family had begun to acquire. He was educated under his father at Dublin. He travelled in his youth. He had access to the Court of Charles I., and to the greatest personages of the time, and he continued the family friendship with the Sydneys. Sir Philip's nephew, Robert Sydney, was now second Earl of Leicester, 'a man of great parts,' says Lord Clarendon, 'very conversant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics.' In the *Sydney Papers* we find the countess writing to her husband (A.D. 1636), of 'Sir John Temple, who *is inquisitive in all affairs*, and much your servant.' There were tender associations between Temple and the earl's family. Sir John had married Esther Hammond, a sister of Dr. Hammond, the celebrated divine. The doctor held the living of Penshurst; and at Penshurst Temple lost his wife. 'Your Penshurst,' Temple writes to the earl in 1638, 'was the place where God saw fit to take from me the desire of mine eyes, and the most sweet companion of my life; a place that must never be forgotten by me, not only in regard of those blessed ashes that lie now treasured up there, and my desire that by your lordship's favour, *cum fatalis et meus dies venerit*, I may return to that dust, but in respect also of the extraordinary civilities I then received from your incomparable lady.' He goes on to show how tenderly Lady Leicester (a Percy, and the mother of Algernon Sydney) had behaved at this great crisis, which all readers of her letters will readily believe. Sir John Temple also writes to the earl from Berwick, where he had accompanied the Court when the king was marching against, and negotiating with, the Scots; and, on another occasion, urges him to try for the Secretaryship of State, likely to be vacated by the resignation of Sir John Coke. 'And further give me leave,' writes he, 'to tell your lordship that I think this the proper time to move in, and that I find such stirring now at Court, as I apprehend him not long-lived in his place. So as if you neglect now to stir, *you will have some evil angel take the opportunity, while the waters are troubled, to help in some stigmatick or otherwise infirm person.*' There is a touch of the family wit as of the family shrewdness here; but Sir John Temple found an opportunity of showing still higher qualities. The Earl of Leicester went to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, and appointed Temple (who was knighted in 1640) to an important post. A heavy responsibility, to which he was not unequal, fell upon him when the rebellion broke out. Afterwards, when Leicester was succeeded by Ormond, Temple was imprisoned for opposing the cessation which Ormond was commanded to make with the rebels. This attracted the favourable attention of the parliament to him, and in 1644 he was exchanged, and made a commissioner in Munster. Never an extreme man, however, he was dismissed for voting that the king's proposals from the Isle of Wight were sufficient grounds for peace. Later, he was both employed and rewarded by Cromwell; but that did not hinder him from prospering under the Restoration. He was Master of the Rolls, Privy Councillor, Treasurer, and enjoyed an opulent, and, we are expressly told, 'hospitable' old age. He died in 1677. Sir John Temple, besides being a politician, was the author of a *History of the Irish Rebellion*. It has always received the praise of veracity, and one cannot look into it without seeing that the writer was a scholar and a man of sense.

"The eldest son of Sir John Temple and Esther Hammond was the famous Sir William Temple, who continued to be the most widely-known man that ever bore the ancient name till the days of the third Lord Palmerston. Born in London in

1628, he was educated at Penshurst, at Bishop Stortford, and at Cambridge under Cudworth, and then set out to travel on the continent. In passing through the Isle of Wight, where the king was then imprisoned, he made the acquaintance of Dorothy Osborne, the daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, governor of Guernsey for his majesty. The youth's father was in the Long Parliament; the young lady's father was a cavalier. Sir John desired a greater match for his son; Sir Peter desired a greater match for his daughter; and their engagement, opposed on both sides, lasted for seven years. During part of this time William Temple lived in France, where he mastered the French, and in the Low Countries and Germany, where he mastered the Spanish language. He was married at last in 1654, and took up his abode with his affectionate and sprightly Dorothy in Ireland. His head-quarters were in the county of Carlow, where he lived on a moderate income, and spent much of his time in reading, and doubtless in forming that graceful and pleasant style which entitles him to rank among the founders of polite English prose. Happy in his marriage, he was most unfortunate in the health of his children, five of whom died in as many years. The Restoration brought Temple into public life. When an Irish parliament was called, he was chosen, with his father, for the county of Carlow; and soon attracting the attention of the new Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, was introduced by him to the powerful minister, Lord Arlington. His first employment arose out of the first of the Dutch wars of this reign, when he was sent to negotiate with our ally the Bishop of Munster. His success brought him a baronetcy and the post of Resident at Brussels, in which city he was when, in 1667, the French invaded Flanders. The power of Louis now began to alarm Europe. Charles II. had not yet become quite his tool; and Temple was sent to the Hague, to conclude, with Sweden and Holland, the great negotiation known as the Triple Alliance, which gave a check to the French plans. He now became ambassador at the Hague, and made the friendship of De Witt and of the young Prince of Orange. He remained there till French intrigues had reversed the English policy, and driven us into a war with our recent and most natural ally. Temple at once retired to his house at Sheen, his gardens, and his books, and employed himself in writing his excellent *Observations on the United Provinces*, which the Dutch still cherish and make a student's text-book, after the author's countrymen have ceased to read it. From this retreat he was summoned, in the autumn of 1673, to conclude a peace with Holland; and, next year, went there again, as ambassador-extraordinary, to mediate for a general peace, which, after much delay, was brought about by the treaty of Nimeguen. It was at this period, too, that he took an important part in bringing about the marriage of the Prince of Orange with the Princess Mary, which had such vital consequences for Great Britain.

"Up to this time the public life of Sir William Temple had been, on the whole, eminently successful. He had conducted negotiations of the first consequence, which will always preserve his reputation in the highest rank of diplomatists. He had won the esteem and confidence of the greatest statesmen in Europe. His public character was not only lofty, but pure; his private character respectable. But he was unfitted for the stormy times which followed, and fled to his favourite retirement, Sheen Park. He died in 1698; and though he left issue, that line of the Temples failed, and he was represented by the late Lord Palmerston, a lineal descendant of his younger brother.

"His younger brother was Sir John Temple, known as the best lawyer in Ireland. He sat for Carlow; was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons before he was thirty, and was first Solicitor and then Attorney-general to the sister kingdom.

"To Sir John succeeded his son Henry, created Viscount Palmerston in 1772.

"His grandson, the second viscount, father to the late Prime Minister, seems to have been a true Temple. His lordship was in the Admiralty from 1766 to 1777. 'Lord Palmerston,' says Walpole, citing Tickell, 'finesses rebusses and charades with bits of poetry; and when Lord of the Admiralty, wrecked names with a song.'



Walpole, elsewhere, mentions him as a patron of art, a writer of verses—sometimes good, and sometimes bad; as a guest at Topham Beauclerk's, talking loud in the presence of Burke, Gibbon, and Garrick. Johnson, writing to Boswell in July, 1783, says, 'I took an airing to Hampstead, and dined with the club where Lord Palmerston was proposed, *and, against my advice, rejected.*' Afterwards, as Boswell tells, his lordship was elected. That he was a man of fine and delicate talent is evident from the following:—

INSCRIPTIVE VERSES WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN WHOSE LADY DIED AT  
BRISTOL WELLS.

“ ‘Whoe’er, like me, with trembling anguish brings  
His heart’s whole treasure to fair Bristol’s springs;  
Whoe’er, like me, to soothe disease and pain,  
Shall pour these salutary waves in vain;  
Condemned, like me, to hear the faint reply,  
To mark the fading cheek, the sinking eye;  
From the chill brow to wipe the damp of death,  
And watch with dumb despair the shortening breath;  
If chance direct him to this artless line,  
Let the sad mourner know his griefs were mine.  
Ordained to lose the partner of my breast,  
Whose beauty warmed me, and whose friendship blest;  
Framed every tie that binds the soul to prove,  
Her duty friendship, and her friendship love:  
Yet soon remembering that the parting sigh,  
Ordains the just to slumber, not to die,  
The starting tear I checked, I kissed the rod,  
And not to earth resigned her, but to God.’ ”

The second Viscount Palmerston was twice married. His first wife, a daughter of Sir Francis Poole, of Poole, in Cheshire, died, leaving no issue, in 1769. He married again at Bath, in 1783, Miss Mary Mee, described as daughter of Benjamin Mee, Esq., of that city, who was mother of our deceased statesman. It is said that the viscount, after his bereavement of his first wife, was riding on horseback through the streets of Dublin, and was thrown, and one of his limbs fractured. He was carried into an adjacent house, and, upon medical assistance being summoned, it was found that it would be dangerous or fatal to have him removed. The house was occupied by a respectable hatter in middling circumstances. The hatter's daughter undertook the task of nursing the injured peer. The consequence of her attentions was that they fell in love with each other, and the result was their marriage. This lady became the mother of the great English Premier. We repeat, we cannot at all vouch for the accuracy of this gossip; but, to say the least, a colourable possibility is lent to it by the fact, that in the *Peerages*, and in such temporary authorities and chroniclers of aristocratic doings as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, no further reference is made to the second wife of the second Viscount Palmerston, than that her name was Mary Mee, and that of her father, Benjamin Mee. In the absence of all allusion to her family connections, the inference is almost, if not quite, inevitable that the lady was of obscure birth. Mary Mee became a peeress in the right of her husband, by her marriage, on the 7th of January, 1783. The second viscount died in Hanover Square, in 1802, when little more than sixty years of age.

The deceased Premier was early sent to Harrow, where Dr. Drury was head master. Of his earlier education we know nothing. And of the years that he spent at Harrow, hardly anything more is known than this:—Captain Gronow, of the Guards—whose amusing reminiscences of his own family formed a very popular book just at the time when Palmerston, in his hale and hearty octogenarianism, was so admirably maintaining the neutrality of England amid the shoals and quicksands of the American civil war—records that, at Harrow, “Byron hated

Palmerston, but liked Peel." And the chatty captain innocently adds in the immediate context, a further sentence which entirely denudes Byron's "hatred" of Palmerston of the slightest disparaging weight:—"Byron thought that the whole world ought to be constantly engaged in admiring his poetry and himself."

The late Premier was among the young men of rank and talent who were attracted to Edinburgh, at the opening of the present century, by the fame of Dugald Stewart; and he spent three years under him before going to Cambridge. The pupil had more than usual opportunities of benefiting by intercourse with his master; for he not only attended his lectures, but was a resident in his house. Private intercourse deepened and cemented the impressions made in the class-room. Especially would it appear that, in the field of political economy, which was at that date somewhat arbitrarily united with ethics in the Edinburgh professorial system, Lord Palmerston benefited by Stewart's teaching. Dugald Stewart's lectures on political economy were never published until many years after his death, when they were included in the library edition of his complete works, which Sir William Hamilton edited, until his death prevented the completion of the task. The erudite editor had some difficulty in procuring an authentic manuscript transcript of the lectures, for Stewart had never written them completely out; depending rather on extemporaneous prelection, assisted by somewhat scanty notes. The copy from which Sir William Hamilton's edition was actually printed was made up of the notes taken in the class-room by various students; and by far the most valuable assistance that Sir William derived in his editorial task, was from the note-book of Lord Palmerston. He had taken down the lectures in shorthand, and then written them out in full. Indeed, we believe that the larger bulk of the lectures, as they are now published, were taken *verbatim* by the printers from manuscript in Lord Palmerston's handwriting. This one circumstance is proof enough at once of the high esteem in which Palmerston, when a young man at Edinburgh, held Stewart's lectures, and of the considerable influence which they must have exerted in the formation of his mental character. To Edinburgh his lordship always acknowledged himself under obligations. "I passed," said he, "three years of my youth in studying at the University of Edinburgh; and I will frankly own, without disparagement to any other seat of learning at which I had the fortune to reside, that I enjoyed greater advantages in the acquirement of useful knowledge and sound principles during the three years' residence, than I possessed at any other time." For a young man, perhaps, no better place of tuition could have been selected than Edinburgh when Lord Palmerston went there; when the Speculative Society was in full vigour; when, in his own station in life, he could associate with such men as the late Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Russell, Lord Seymour; and when his intellect would be sharpened and stimulated by such fellow-students as Jeffrey and Horner, Brougham and Sydney Smith. Certainly, at Cambridge, to which Lord Palmerston next turned his steps, there was no such brilliant society as at Edinburgh. Wilberforce, who was at Cambridge a little before Palmerston, gives us but a poor idea of the university. "Those" (the fellows) he writes, "with whom I was intimate did not act towards me the part of Christians, or even of honest men. Their object seemed to be to make and keep me idle. If I ever appeared studious, they said to me 'Why in the world should a man of your fortune trouble himself with fagging.'" It is clear, however, that Palmerston must have acquitted himself in a manner which secured for him respect, or he would not have been selected as the Tory candidate for the representation when Pitt died; in which contest he was beaten by his fellow-student, Lord Henry Petty, better known as Marquis of Lansdowne; nor would he have left the impression upon Milner, that he, Palmerston, was one of the most promising young men of his time. At Cambridge, as well as at Edinburgh, his lordship improved his time.

Lord Palmerston had one brother and two sisters, all of whom are dead. His brother, who died in 1856, was Sir William Temple, the well-known scholar,



antiquary, and connoisseur, who held for many years the position of English minister at the Court of the Neapolitan Bourbons.

Arrived at this point, we must for a short time ask our readers to take a hurried glance at the political events which preceded his lordship's political career, but which did, to a considerable extent, form his opinions, mould his conduct, and shape his destiny. On the throne of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was seated George III.—the first of the Georges who was truly popular, and a fair representative of his people. His reign was long and eventful.

The type of government established at the revolution may be said to have been definitely settled at the accession of the House of Hanover. The country was ruled by the revolutionary families coalesced into a dominant oligarchy, which procured a majority in the Commons—the real centre and source of authority. Opposed to these, however, was a minority composed of many discordant elements, but united generally in parliamentary antagonism, and forming a salutary check on the administration. The empire was extended to all parts of the world, and, in 1773, at the close of the great administration of Pitt, was decidedly the foremost power in the world.

In this period of aristocratic ascendancy, the two representative men were Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Chatham.

To Walpole we owe a debt which must not be briefly passed over. Chatham could never have stood in Walpole's position, and done his work. George I. came over from Hanover with a hungry crew, who looked upon England as the promised land. "We have come, to your cost," exclaimed, on a certain occasion, one of the female harpies whom it was the fashion of the first of the Georges to patronise as mistresses: and they kept their word. To the interests of the Hanoverian junto of Bothmar, the Duchess of Kendal, and the Countess of Darlington, who unscrupulously sold themselves to do any dirty work by which money could be made, everything was to subserve; and their example was followed by all in place and power. We believe, not only that the administration of Walpole was attended with benefit, but that we are indebted to him for the preservation of our national liberties. That his majorities were acquired not merely by argument, or eloquence, or logic, is as much the fault of his time as his own. Even the grandson of Hampden could threaten, if Walpole did not grant him more perquisites or bribes, he would transfer his allegiance from the House of Hanover to that old hereditary one which had been so righteously expelled. Those were times of universal corruption and flagrant vice. Parker, who was compelled to resign the seals and retire into private life, merely did as his predecessors had done before him. If Walpole was the minister painted by party faction, it is strange that the charges against him were so few and ridiculous. After possessing office more than twenty years, all that could be said against him was—that he made an attempt upon the virtue of a mayor of Weymouth; that he had promised a place in the revenue to a retiring officer; and that he had dismissed some officers of excise who had acted against the government candidate. His expenses were enormous: it is not easy to understand how they could have been defrayed from his private fortune, which, when he first took office, was little more than £2,000 a year. He spent, in building and purchases, at Houghton, £200,000; in pictures, £40,000: his lodge, in Richmond, cost him £14,000. His annual summer meetings at Houghton, when he feasted his supporters, cost him £3,000 each. In one election alone he spent £6,000. This expenditure must have come from other than private sources, and must, of course, have been a fertile theme for the envious invective of his foes. Walpole, as we may well believe, had no exalted notions of virtue or honour in man. If he served his country, he was also not unmindful of himself. He gave his three sons places that were worth £14,000 a year: besides this, he and his son held the rangership of Richmond Park, with several thousands more. He felt no delicacy in making church property serve as endowments to his illegitimate

daughters. Horace Walpole complains of a clergyman who was mean enough to take the bishopric Sir Robert gave him under the idea that he was to marry one of them, and yet refused the lady. Walpole believed the House of Hanover essential to England, and himself essential to the House of Hanover. For principles and consistency he cared but little. His great maxim was, not to disturb things at rest. Fanaticism he dreaded—as well it might be dreaded by a manager of Secheverell's trial, and a Whig. At enthusiasm he laughed: for literature he cared but little. The wit of twenty years was always on the side of opposition in this respect—wiser, in their generation, than himself. History he deemed a fable: “fiddlers” was the contemptuous term he applied to the foreign artists of whom his memorable son was the patron and the friend. In his manners and conversation he was careless and loose. Swift, who met him at Lord Tyrconnel's, said his range of conversation was from obscenity to politics, and from politics to obscenity. (By-the-bye, the same remark might have been applied to Swift himself.) Walpole was not an ascetic; few persons in those days were. In his time there were many people more immoral, far more regardless of decency or shame; while, in good common sense, capacity, and public spirit, he was surpassed by none. Few had a more real nature, or a more honest laugh. In this respect even the opposition appears consistently to have opposed him. We all know Chesterfield considered laughing an unpardonable offence. “Sandys,” said Earle, a wit of the time, “never laughed but once, and that was when his best friend broke his leg.”

It was an unheroic time that in which Walpole lived and ruled. No age was ever more sunk in licentiousness, and no licentiousness was less redeemed by grace. Its ignorance almost surpasses belief. Upon the marriage of the Prince of Wales, Lord Baltimore said to him—“Your royal highness's marriage will be an *area* in our history.” An earl's son, in sending invitations to a party, could find no better manner of expressing himself than by soliciting the pleasure of he's company and she's company, in defiance of those useful pronouns, his and her. Lady Pomfret indignantly repudiated the idea of Platonic love, and said she never had but one love—the lawful father of her children. One baronet left another a legacy under the impression, because his name was Matthew, that he was the author of the gospel of that name. Chesterfield was the *Magnus Apollo* of the world of fashion; and, in his celebrated work, as Dr. Johnson remarked, we have a combination of the manners of a dancing-master and the morals of a whore. Immorality deluged the land, and withered up man's honour and woman's love. To drink, to blaspheme, to intrigue, to break the seventh commandment, was not deemed disgraceful to married men of high standing and illustrious birth. More than one peer openly kept a harem. The novelist, when he would tell a tale of more than usual voluptuousness, had to borrow the pen of Lady Vane, and publish, in the *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*, her ladyship's gay career. The scandal of the times throws doubt on the paternity of Walpole's celebrated son. No wonder that, when one of the Prince of Wales's coachmen died, he left his son £300 a year, on condition that he should never marry a maid of honour. Since the day when Charles II. landed from the Hague, the nation had been retrograding step by step from the asceticism of Cromwell and his saints; and the national licentiousness had now reached its lowest depth. The consequent dislike to religion and religious men lasted long after. In Wilberforce's time the feeling had not died. In a conversation he had with Pitt, the former describes himself much shocked at finding Pitt had a very bad opinion of the serious clergy.

Lord Russell says Lord Chatham was the reverse of Walpole. Walpole lowered the tone of public men till it became more like that of pedlars than statesmen. Chatham raised his voice against selfishness and corruption, and his invectives, even now, make the cheek tingle with indignation. Walpole acted upon the love of ease, the prudence and the timidity of mankind. Chatham appealed to their energy, their integrity, and their love of freedom. It must be acknowledged that Walpole had some merits which Chatham wanted. He pursued, from the



beginning, one steady, and, upon the whole, useful line of state policy. Lord Chatham acted upon the impulse of the moment; and, if he followed the policy of the day, he little cared how inconsistent it might be with his former sentiments. Walpole seemed to aim at what was most expedient; Chatham at what was most striking. The former secured the guarantee of France to the Protestant succession; the latter attacked her possessions and humbled her name. Walpole looked to prosperity; Chatham to glory. The one carefully amassed the means which the other magnificently dissipated. Walpole was successful nearly to the end of his life. The cause of his long power is to be found both in the steadiness of his conduct, and his care to unite together a large and respected party in favour of his government. Lord Chatham succeeded in nothing after the reign of George III.

The accession of George III. was the commencement of an eventful reign. Two most momentous wars were waged. The first resulted in American independence; the second in the French revolution. At the time of the sudden death of his grandfather, George III. was in his twenty-second year. He was tall and well-built, with a countenance, if not handsome, yet at any rate good-natured, and a head with a retreating forehead, of the kind of which phrenologists despair. It was the head of an obstinate man; and for that obstinacy the nation had to pay dearly.

George III. heard the news of his new honour and responsibility as he was riding in the pleasant neighbourhood of Kew. When the messenger arrived, the new king immediately commanded the man to inform no one that he had brought the news: his next action was with Lord Bute, to hasten back, and secure his grandfather's money. That day, and the following night, were spent in secret arrangements; and, the next morning, George presented himself before his mother, the princess-dowager, at Carlton House, where he met his council, and was then formally proclaimed. This was on the 26th of October, 1760.

His conduct on his sudden elevation, was, considering his shyness and the defects of his education, calm, courteous, affable, and unembarrassed. Horace Walpole writes—"He behaved throughout with the greatest propriety, dignity, and decency." He dismissed his guards to attend on the body of his grandfather. But it was soon seen that there would be great changes in his government. Pitt waited on him with the sketch of an address to the council; but the king informed him that this had been thought of, and an address already prepared. Pitt felt that the new Premier would be, not himself, but Lord Bute, the favourite of mother and son, the Groom of the Stole, and inseparable companion. The great Pitt, with his commanding talents, was the man for that post. George III., however, with his retreating forehead, did not see that. A hand-bill soon appeared on the walls of the Royal Exchange, expressing the public apprehension:—"No petticoat government!—no Scotch favourite!—no Lord George Sackville!"

Lord Stanhope (better known as Lord Mahon) argues that George III. was by no means deficient in intellect. Certainly he had no lack of a homely sense and shrewdness, such as would have made him a good farmer; but he was deficient in all those properties which are necessary to kings in trying times. "He lacked," writes Mr. Howitt, "that grasp of intellect which takes in the whole horizon of causes and contingencies; and that sympathy with greatness which leads it to choose great instruments, and associate with master minds. To use the words of our greatest living poet, "his mind declined upon a lower range of minds; and to them he trusted the fate of his empire, without a suspicion that they were incapable of directing it." The same historian says—"His peculiarity of manner, his whats and whats? and heys? heys? which even his worshipper, Madame D'Arblay, has handed down to our notice, and which Walcot so continually played on, gave him an appearance of shallowness that was greater than it really was." But the tests of the mind of George III. are, that he lost a magnificent country, by not having sense to retain its affections, and nearly ruined this country in endeavouring to prop up imbecile government. It must be

remembered, that, for this, George III. is personally responsible. He was a real king. He did not take his policy from his ministers, but he imposed his policy on theirs. We know how he objected to Mr. Fox being in office; how he refused to listen to Catholic emancipation; how he drove his family into dissipation by his severe and narrow treatment of them; how the great Chatlam humbled himself before him. He might have surrounded himself with wise councillors; he might have been open to argument and reason; but he went on in his own blundering, wrong-headed ways. Deeply, and for long, had the nation to deplore his narrow education operating on his limited capacity, and the obstinacy which resisted wise advice, and the signs of the times.

People also began to think that the new king was a little too penurious. The late king had left behind him £300,000 or £400,000; and after leaving to the Countess of Yarmouth a cabinet containing £10,000, he had made the Duke of Cumberland and his daughters, Amelia and Mary, heirs to the remainder: but this balance had become mysteriously reduced to about £90,000, which, after the payment of the legacy to Lady Yarmouth, was divided as the will of the late king directed.

Parliament, which had been prorogued for a few days on account of the demise of the crown, assembled on the 18th of November. The attendance was crowded, and the king was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations. He delivered a speech, composed by Lord Hardwicke, and revised by Pitt, and containing a passage, said to be inserted by himself, as follows:—"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton!" This word he is said to have written "Englishman," but that Lord Bute altered it to "Briton;" which, if true, was one of the most sensible things he ever did; for though the term was criticised by those who were averse to the Scots, it was worthy of the King of Great Britain to make no distinctions, but to assume the broadest appellation. The sentence then continued—"And the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm attachment to me I consider the greatest and most permanent security of my throne." In the addresses these words produced the most enthusiastic responses. "What a lustre," exclaimed the lords, "doth it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, sir, are pleased to esteem it amongst your glories!" The Commons accepted, "with the liveliest sentiments of duty, gratitude, and exultation of mind, those most affecting and animating words." For the rest, the speech expressed the royal determination to prosecute the war with all vigour; praised the magnanimity and perseverance of his good brother, the King of Prussia; and recommended unanimity of action and opinion in parliament. Nothing could appear more unanimous or more liberal than parliament. It voted another subsidy to Prussia of £670,000; fixed the civil-list for the reign at £800,000; and granted the hitherto unexampled supplies of nearly £20,000,000. All parties and shades of opinion seemed obliterated. Tories and Jacobites flocked again to Court; and, through the influence of Bute, many of them received posts in the new household. When Bute retired from office, the general opinion was, that he had managed to take care of himself. "I dined," writes Wilberforce, "with Lord Camden. He is sure that Lord Bute got money for the peace of Paris. He can account for his sinking near £300,000 in land and houses; and his paternal estate in the island which bears his name, is not above £1,500 a year; and he is a life tenant only of Wortley, which may be £8,000 or £10,000."

In many respects the reign of George III. was remarkable. For the first time since the death of Queen Anne, the monarchical element began to revive—to interfere with the other elements that had been preponderating in the state; and even to aim at preponderating influence. The young king had a strong leaning to arbitrary power, and had resolved that he would be a king indeed. The Whigs had rendered themselves unpopular, and the Tories and the church took their natural position in the political arena as the allies of the crown.



The great calamity of this reign was that it lost us America.

George II. died in 1760. When George III. ascended the throne, as usual, a change of ministers took place. During the reign of George II. it had often been proposed to tax the Americans, but Sir Robert Walpole was too sensible of the importance of encouraging the colonists to do so foolish a thing. When Mr. Grenville became minister, in 1764, he brought forward a series of resolutions, as the precursor of a bill for imposing duties on imports into the colonies from the mother country, and for the introduction of stamp duties. The consideration of the subject was postponed until the following year. Mr. Grenville trusted, by so doing, he should be able to enforce the new revenue laws with the aid of the Admiralty Court in America, the judges of which had their appointments from the crown, and decided cases without the disagreeable intervention of a jury.

This time was not wasted by the people of Massachusetts and Virginia. They forwarded to the government at home protests and petitions against the measure; and took their ground on the grand principle that taxation and representation go together.

In 1765 Grenville brought forward his pet bill. In a house of pensioners and placemen he triumphed by a majority of 250 members. Only fifty men were found to stand by the rights and principles of English liberty. On the 1st of November the act was ordered to come into operation.

All was uproar in the colonies. Patrick Henry—young, ardent, and eloquent—thundered forth in opposition in the House of Burgesses, in Virginia. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other American towns, mobs were formed to attack the houses of those entrusted with carrying out the vexatious regulations of the detested measure. Conventions and associations were everywhere organised. In opposition to the act, the women of America were as united and decided as the men. In the face of this determined resistance, parliament, in 1766, repealed the Stamp Act, without relinquishing “its right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.”

The next attempt was to impose a duty on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours imported. To this a new opposition was effectually and speedily formed. Massachusetts, in 1767, led the way.

In 1770, Lord North had become Chancellor of the Exchequer; and one of his first acts was to repeal the port duties of 1767, with the exception of the duty on tea. This was preserved as a practical assertion of the superiority of parliament.

In America the irritation continued. In Boston, in March 1770, soldiers had fired upon the inhabitants, and five had been killed. An event now occurred which greatly accelerated the revolution.

In the warehouses of the East India Tea Company, there were no less than 17,000,000 lbs. of tea, which had become unsaleable, in consequence of the refusal of the colonists to consume the productions of the mother country. The government permitted them to export their teas to America free of *export* duty; and cargoes were shipped to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston. At the two first ports, it was not received at any price, and the ships were not suffered to land their freights. At Charleston the tea was landed and stored, but neither purchased nor used. At Boston, a public meeting was held, and the consignees were requested neither to contract or sell. They replied that they were bound by their instructions from home. The moment for action had now arrived. At night, fifty men, disguised as Indians, boarded the ship, took out the chests of tea, and then threw them overboard. The perpetrators of this act were never known.

Lord North now gladly seized the opportunity to punish the Bostonians for resistance to his authority. He got parliament to agree to the closing of the port of Boston, subverting the constitution and charter of Massachusetts, and placing all authority in the hands of the officers of the crown. At the same time the

military force was increased, and a wider latitude given to its commander, General Gage.

In September, 1774, the Americans met in solemn congress, in Philadelphia. They resolved that they were entitled to life, liberty, and property; and not only to abstain from commercial relations with Great Britain, but to prepare for resistance if unjust claims were enforced.

In April, 1775, one little circumstance fanned the spark of discontent into rebellion. At Concord, twenty miles from Boston, the Americans had stored a quantity of ammunition, and other military materials. General Gage resolved to seize and destroy these stores. On their way to execute the general's orders, the troops met, at Lexington, some Americans under arms. The British commander ordered them to disperse; they stood firm. The troops delivered a volley; the Americans retreated, and then fired. Our forces, after effecting their purpose, had to retreat with considerable loss of life.

The war—for such it had now become—spread all over the colonies. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were taken from the British. The latter were reinforced by the arrivals of Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. The next engagement was that of Bunker's Hill, June 17th, 1775. Three days previously the congress reassembled at Philadelphia, and appointed a commander-in-chief. Their choice fell upon the illustrious Washington, who lost no time in assuming the command. He determined to blockade the English; to improve the colonial force; and, if possible, to get the Canadians to join in the struggle.

The British were compelled to evacuate Boston. In Canada, the American forces were not successful.

In June, 1776, a fleet arrived from England under Admiral Sir Peter Parker, and anchored in the harbour of Charleston. Lord Cornwallis was in command of the troops. Beaten off by the Virginians, the British fleet and troops now concentrated at New York. Washington had prepared for this event, and fortified Long Island accordingly. On the 4th of July, 1776, the declaration of independence was agreed to. The thirteen colonies had now virtually thrown off the authority of the mother country.

At the period when the Americans thus asserted their own independence, the population of the United States amounted, in round numbers, to 815,000. Massachusetts had 292,000; Connecticut, 197,856; New York, 68,000; Rhode Island, 59,678; New Hampshire, 52,000; South Carolina, 40,000; and Louisiana, 5,500. By 1776, the settlements in Vermont had extended in a northerly direction, and emigrants had begun to plant settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. A small beginning this for a great nation.

All this while the attention of the British parliament and people had not been occupied, exclusively, with American matters. Wilkes had fought the battle of liberty, and gained something for the constitution. For many years this Wilkes was the great champion of the people. He was a demagogue, with no principles; but with a certain amount of talent, and a good share of audacity, without which he could never have played his part. He was the son of a distiller in Clerkenwell: had received a classical education; and published editions of Theophrastus and Catullus, by which he acquired the acquaintance of Pitt, Lord Temple, and other persons of rank and distinction. At this time he was member for Aylesbury, and had but an indifferent character. Charles Churchill was one of his coadjutors—a rake and clergyman, endowed with great satirical power. Churchill, by the encouragement of Wilkes, published a Scottish pastoral—*The Prophecy of Famine*. In this satire he describes Scotland as the most barren and miserable of countries, and in terms which show that he had never been there, for he makes its rivers dull and stagnant.

“Where, slowly winding, the dull waters creep,  
And seem themselves to own the power of sleep.”



To "the poor, mean, despised race" who inhabit Scotland, Famine appears, and exhorts them to quit a country, where—

"Far as the eye could reach no tree was seen ;  
Earth, clad in russet, scorned the lively green ;  
The plague of locusts certain to defy,  
For in three hours a grasshopper must die.  
No living thing, whate'er its food, feeds thero  
But the chameleon, who can feast on air."

In England all this is reversed. There plenty and abundance reign. The example of Bute is held up approvingly. Famine bids the true Scots imitate his career, and cross the border, where, instead of—

"A barren desert, we shall seize rich plains,  
Where milk, with honey, flows, and plenty reigns ;  
With some few natives joined, some pliant few  
Who worship interest, and one track pursue,  
There shall we, though the wretched people grieve,  
Ravage at large, nor ask the owner's leave."

The slander of the time associated the king's mother and Lord Bute. They were compared to Queen Isabella and Mortimer; and Wilkes actually wrote an ironical dedication of Ben Jonson's play of *The Fall of Mortimer*, to him. Lord Bute, the Prime Minister, was a Scotchman. In his paper, the *North Briton*, Wilkes had abused Scotchmen in general, and Lord Bute in particular. A general warrant was issued, in which, whilst no person was named, any one obnoxious to the government could be prosecuted if they had been in any way connected with the seditious paper. Accordingly, Wilkes was committed and sent to the Tower, and received the harshest treatment. The Court of Queen's Bench decided against the legality of general warrants; and Wilkes, the demagogue, became a hero and a patriot. In many ways he took part against the Court, who opposed him in every possible manner. In vain a compliant House of Commons expelled Wilkes: he was immediately re-elected. The honour heaped upon Wilkes was significant of the temper of the public. His admirers paid his debts; and the week after his release from prison, he was admitted as alderman of Farringdon without. He then rose, at very short intervals, to the honours of Sheriff in 1771, and of Lord Mayor in 1775. He was then made Chamberlain of the city of London. In 1783, upon a total change of ministry, Wilkes succeeded in a motion for having all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of the House of Commons, respecting his incapacity, and the decision in favour of Colonel Luttrell, expunged from the journals. Wilkes' career closed in a manner less flattering to his feelings. At the general election in 1790, he met with the most scornful and humiliating defeat at the hands of the very electors of Middlesex formerly so enthusiastic in his favour.

With France we were at peace; but we had a trifling quarrel with Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands, which, however, had been amicably arranged.

Parliament also found time to pass a mischievous marriage act, to please the king, and to deny relief to religious people rather staggered by the thirty-nine articles. At that time, however, subscription to the thirty-nine articles was deemed the palladium of our constitution in church and state.

At this crisis appears upon the stage Lord North, eldest son of the Earl of Guildford—a man of a remarkably mild and pleasant temper, of sound sense, and honourable character. He was ungainly in his person, and plain; but he was well versed in the business of parliament, and particularly dexterous in tagging to a motion of the opposition, some paragraph or other which neutralised the whole, or even turned it against them. He was exceedingly near-sighted; so much so, that upon one occasion he carried off the wig of the Secretary of the Navy, who sat near him in the House. Burke thus burlesqued his style of speaking:—"The noble lord who spoke last, after extending his right leg a full yard before his left,

rolling his flaming eyes, and moving his ponderous frame, has at length opened his mouth." He was just the man for his post, as he was often seen nodding while opposition members were pouring out all the vials of their wrath on his head. His ministerial existence was a lengthy one; and it is to be feared, on the whole, a mischievous one. "Lord North," writes Mr. Romilly in 1782, to his brother-in-law, Roger, "has had two places, which he only held during pleasure, settled on him for life, so that you may judge he is not much chagrined at being displaced. In private company, the other day, he said that the opposition, who had always complained of his publishing lying *Gazettes*, were no sooner in office, than they set off with a *Gazette* more full of lies than any of his had been, for it contained a string of paragraphs, each beginning, 'His majesty has been pleased to appoint, &c.' when it is certain that the king was not pleased at any one of these appointments."

The affairs of India were also brought before parliament. It had been connected with England since the days of Queen Elizabeth, in whose reign the English East India Company was formed. In the reign of James I., Sir Thomas Roe was appointed ambassador to the Great Mogul. Charles I. gave a licence to a Sir William Courcier, and certain merchant adventurers, to trade to India, to the detriment of the rights pertaining to the previously existing company. The new company caused a good deal of confusion, embarrassment, and loss to the older association; into which, however, after a time it ultimately merged.

In 1743 war broke out in Europe, and the French assumed a bold and dangerous attitude upon the coast of Coromandel. The French East India Company, anxious to avert the calamities of war in a region where the political merit of the Austrian succession had but little interest, proposed that, in the contest which had arisen, the Indian seas should be considered neutral. England refused the terms, and prepared for war. The French did the same. They took Madras from the English, and successfully defended Pondicherry. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle peace was restored, and the English recovered Madras.

The time had now come for a subaltern, named Clive, to distinguish himself. He had been sent out as a clerk, or writer, by the East India Company; and when the war broke out, he exchanged the pen for the sword.

The French passion for war took a wider scope, and, for a time, they were more successful than ourselves. One Dupleix, a man of great enterprise and determination of character, had conceived the idea of establishing a French empire in India. The power of the Great Mogul had been rudely shaken; the south of India was split into different little kingdoms and chieftainships, all rivalling each other. Why could not France take advantage of the idea, and, by allying herself with one or other of the contending parties, secure the country for herself? An opportunity soon offered itself for the operation of this grand policy. The Nizam of the Deccan suddenly died, and the succession was disputed. Of the claimants, one appealed to the French for the aid they were eager to give. The allied forces were triumphant, and the French had a rich reward. Dupleix was declared governor of India, from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin—a country almost as large as France. He ruled 30,000,000 of people with almost absolute power.

Clive saw the danger of our position. By a gallant *coup-de-main*, in thunder, lightning, and rain, he took Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic; from all of which, in time, he expelled the French and their allies.

In Bengal, in 1756, there was terrible consternation among the British. Suraj-u-Dowlah had advanced on Calcutta; shut up all the English he could find in the Black Hole. Clive hastened to take revenge, and then to war with the French, who had promised to assist Suraj-u-Dowlah in driving the English out of Bengal. The luck this time was on our side. The battle of Plassey, fought on the 22nd of June, 1757, made Bengal ours.

Clive returned to Calcutta a wealthy man. He had enriched the coffers of his masters and his own. To drive the French out of India was his next effort. At



this time the seven years' war was raging in Europe, and the opportunity was not to be lost. The Count de Lally came out from France with a large force of infantry and cavalry. At first the French were successful; then came reverses. Poor Lally, after witnessing the total annihilation of the French army in India, returned to Paris to be cast into the Bastille, tried by the parliament, and executed under circumstances of peculiar indignity. The French East India Company was soon after extinguished. This occurred in 1763.

Clive returned to India as governor-general, and established an effective internal and foreign policy. The task was an Herculean one. Having performed it satisfactorily, he set sail for Europe at the end of the year 1767.

A committee had been appointed, who had passed a vote of censure on Lord Clive. Heavy charges of cruelty and speculation had been brought against others of the company's servants. The chairman of the committee said, that, "throughout the whole investigation, he could not find a single sound spot whereon to lay a finger; it being all equally one mass of the most unheard-of villanies and the most notorious corruption." Poor Clive, in spite of his princely fortune, ultimately committed suicide.

Again we take up the story of the American war.

At this time, at least 30,000 men of all arms, English and Germans, were concentrated in the vicinity of New York. Washington's army was feeble, and poorly furnished. He had 27,000 men upon paper, and not more than 10,000 fit for duty. Congress was unaccustomed to war, and had made provision in a very penurious manner. They were afraid of a standing army and a dictatorship; but the spirit of the nation revived when Washington crossed the Delaware, and took a hundred Hessians prisoners, and then assailed Lord Cornwallis's troops at Princetown, in New Jersey, and drove them out of several other towns as well. In the north, however, the American armament, under General Arnold, was entirely destroyed.

In 1776, Benjamin Franklin and his colleagues arrived in Paris, to procure a loan, and naval and military aid from France. He had to wait a year before he was recognised by the French government. In spite of the enforced neutrality of the ruler of France, the American cause became very popular among the people, and many betook themselves to the United States, to offer their military services. Among them was the Marquis de Lafayette, afterwards a conspicuous actor in the French revolution. Lafayette was, at this time (1777), twenty years of age. He at once equipped a vessel at his own expense, and, in spite of the opposition of his family, and the prohibition of his government, he left for America, where he was appointed major-general.

Heavy fighting ensued in America. The object of the English was to unite the portion of the army at New York with that in Canada, under General Burgoyne. The latter was very unfortunate: he and his soldiers had to surrender.

The British government having manifested much displeasure at the conduct of the French in sympathising with the revolted colonies, war was declared against France; and, in 1778, the French threw off all disguise, and acknowledged the independence of America. When parliament met, the great Lord Chatham made his last and dying speech in favour of peace with America, and war with France. "I am not, I confess," said his lordship, "well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust, though I know them not, they are still sufficient to defend our rights. But, at all events, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us, at least, make one undaunted effort; and, if we must fall, let us fall like men." As the debate went on, his lordship would have replied; but, in the act of rising, he was struck down with mortal illness, and was carried home, where, in a month, he died. Chatham was buried in Westminster Abbey; and near his remains were placed those of a statesman equally popular—Viscount Palmerston.

In 1778, Keppel sailed out to cripple the French with a fleet of twenty-one

sail of the line and three frigates. He hoisted his flag on board the *Victory*, 100 guns; but this cruise ended in an unsatisfactory manner.

The war was now prosecuted with increased vigour, and with varying success. Sometimes the Americans were successful; at others, the English. The employment of the Indians was attended with horrible barbarities. The flourishing little settlement of Wyoming was devastated by a band of these savages. Their course was marked by the most shocking cruelties. They were headed by one Brandt, whose atrocities form the subject of one of the most beautiful poems in the English language—Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*. An old man speaks—

“The mammet comes—the foe—the monster Brandt,  
With all his howling, desolating band.  
These eyes have seen their blade and burning pine:  
Awake at once, and silence half your land.  
Red is the cup they drink; but not with wine.  
Awake, and watch to-night; or see no morning shine.

“Scorning to wield the hatchet for his tribe,  
'Gainst Brandt himself, I went to battle forth.  
Accursed Brandt! he left, of all my tribe,  
No man nor child, nor thing of living birth:  
No! nor the dog that watched my household hearth,  
Escaped that night of blood upon our plains.  
All perished!”

In 1778, Count d'Estaing sailed from Toulon for America, with a formidable fleet. He had with him three ships of the line and twelve frigates: among the former one carried ninety guns, another eighty, and six seventy-four guns each; and their first object was the defeat of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware; but they arrived too late. In naval history there are few more narrow escapes than that of the British fleet on this occasion. It consisted of only six sixty-four-gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long in service, and were in a bad condition. Their capture by the French would have been certain had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware after a less tedious passage. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued, and in July appeared off Sandy Hook, New York.

The French fleet came to an anchor, and continued outside the Hook eleven days. During this time the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about twenty vessels under British colours. On the 22nd of July, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment for the British. They supposed that Count d'Estaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. The pilots on board the French fleet declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing, for that reason, and with the advice of Washington, sailed for Newport. By his departure the British had a second escape; for had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of Admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. Byron's squadron met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. Just as the French fleet left it arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dismasted, or otherwise damaged.

The next attempt of D'Estaing was against Rhode Island, which had been in possession of the British since 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the American land forces. Lord Howe followed D'Estaing, and came to Rhode Island just as the French had entered Newport harbour. On the appearance of Lord Howe the French admiral put to sea with his whole fleet; but a tempest intervened, and did great damage to the ships on both sides. The British retired to New York to refit, and the French fleet to Boston; and Rhode Island was saved for the present.

Deep was the disappointment of the Americans. Many censured Count D'Estaing; and the latter was not sorry to get away. Having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, on November 3, 1778, he sailed for the West Indies, and



the British possessions there. In his vain attempt to capture St. Lucia he lost 1,500 men. Reinforced by the division commanded by Lamotte Picquet and De Grasse, he reduced the island of St. Vincent, with scarcely any opposition. Granada next fell a prey, after a somewhat better defence; and all the while Admiral Byron remained inactive, not daring to risk his force, much inferior to the French. We next hear of D'Estaing, in concert with the Americans, laying siege to Georgia, a town of Savannah, then held by a small English garrison. In the assault D'Estaing was wounded, and the French met with a severe loss. It was no longer possible to continue the siege, and D'Estaing, having re-embarked his troops and artillery, sailed to the West Indies: here he left a part of his ships, and with the rest returned to France, where, in spite of public opinion in his favour, he was speedily disgraced by the Court, who were determined to humble England, as she had never yet been humbled, by sea and land. For this purpose Spain was drawn into the quarrel as an ally. The Count de Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, now urged upon the Court of Spain that the time had come for recovering Gibraltar and Minorca, and conquering Florida; and, as a further inducement, it was agreed that Jamaica should be handed over to Spain. Accordingly, on the 3rd of June, 1779, D'Orvilliers sailed from Brest with thirty-two ships of the line; and, on the 25th of the same month, he joined the Spanish admiral, Luis de Cordova. The combined fleet consisted of sixty-six ships of the line, besides a great number of frigates and smaller vessels; while 300 transports were assembled at St. Malo and Havre, to carry over the army which, under Marshal de Broglie, was to invade our island-home. The intended enterprise was a failure: the combined fleets were attacked with scurvy, and heartbroken. D'Orvilliers retired into a monastery, to hide his disgrace and shame. It was at this time that the celebrated Paul Jones, greatly encouraged and aided by the French, infested the English coasts. On his way from the Scottish coasts to Holland, he fell-in with the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*; captured them, and carried them into the Texel. The English government insisted that Jones should be given up by the Dutch as a pirate; and their refusal was one of the causes which led to a war with Holland.

Let us now make way for a real hero, Admiral Rodney, placed at this time at the head of a fleet destined for the West Indies, but also commissioned to convey a considerable fleet of transports, laden with provision and ammunition, to Gibraltar, then closely besieged by Spain. He began gloriously. First of all, a convoy, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, protected by a ship of sixty-four guns and four frigates, fell into his hands. Soon after, off Cape St. Vincent, the Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line was encountered; and, after a spirited engagement, the Spanish admiral's ship of eighty guns, and three others of seventy each, were captured and carried into Gibraltar. This important fortress relieved, Rodney made his way to the West Indies. In April, 1780, he came up with the French fleet under Count de Guichen: an engagement took place, which was indecisive, in consequence, it is said, of the misconduct of many of Rodney's officers, among whom there existed, at that time, a bad spirit. It was in this expedition that Prince William Henry (afterwards William IV.) made his first trip in the *Prince George*, commanded by Rear-Admiral Digby. In capturing the vessels belonging to the Caraccas Company, Rodney took occasion to honour the royal midshipman, as appears by his letter dated January 9th, 1780. "Part of the convoy was laden with naval stores and provisions for the Spanish ships of war at Cadiz; the rest with bale goods belonging to the Caraccas Company. Those loaded with naval stores and naval goods I shall immediately despatch for England, under convoy of his majesty's ships, the *America* and *Pearl*. Those loaded with provisions I shall carry to Gibraltar, for which place I am now steering; and have not a doubt that the service I am sent upon will be speedily effected. As I thought it highly necessary to send a sixty-four-gun ship to protect so valuable a convoy, I have commissioned, officered, and manned the Spanish ship of war, of

the rate I have named as above; and out of respect to his royal highness, in whose presence she had the honour to be taken, I have named her the *Prince William*."

But we must return to England, where popular discontent had been gradually drawing to a head. There was murmuring, loud and deep, at the state of things in America, and at the manner in which the war was carried on. A court-martial was held on Admiral Keppel, respecting the engagement off Ushant. The officers warmly espoused the cause of Keppel; and Burke, who was on terms of intimacy with him, accompanied him to Portsmouth, where it was held; and assisted him in preparing his defence. The inquiry, which lasted thirty-four days, resulted in a full and honourable acquittal. London and Westminster were illuminated, and the mob took occasion to do a considerable amount of damage to the admiral's foes. The residence of Sir Hugh Palisser suffered considerable damage, as did also the windows of the Admiralty, and of Lords Germaine and North. Keppel was presented with the freedom of the city. Stimulated by success, the opposition renewed their attack; and Lord North was compelled to consent to an inquiry connected with military affairs, which resulted in showing that ministers were very imperfectly acquainted with the state of affairs in America; and that the people there were generally much more unfavourable to British annexation than had been imagined in this country. For the ministry the attack was anything but pleasant. Officers in the navy resigned; officers in the army did the same. One of the ablest members of the administration, Lord Barrington, had been allowed to withdraw, and the situation of Secretary of War was now filled by Mr. Jenkinson, who was subsequently raised to the peerage, and became known in history as Lord Liverpool. The people complained of the expense of the war; and the more so, as no brilliant successes were announced; nor did the news that the combined fleets of France and Spain were hovering round our coasts, tend to allay the uneasiness which had taken possession of the national mind. On more than one occasion we had been in jeopardy. In August, 1779, the French and Spanish approached Plymouth. A number of coasting-vessels had been taken in Cawsand Bay—nay, more, the *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Boteler, had been captured, and that within sight of Plymouth. This important town, it appeared, had been left almost defenceless. The cannon-balls were found too large for the guns; there were no flints to the muskets; and no adequate provision had been made for resisting so formidable a foe. In January, 1781, came news of another French descent—that on Jersey. All London was alarmed. The despatch which brought news of the invasion arrived in London late on the Sunday night, after the invaders had retired, defeated. The Council were called out of their beds between four and five on Sunday morning. Marshal Conway, who was well rated by the press for being absent from his post, started immediately for the island, and the Channel fleet was hastily ordered to repair to the scene of action; but the tumult soon calmed down when victory was announced. Some of these things tended to enhance the popularity of the minister. His parliamentary supporters fell off. Thurlow had now gained the woolsack, and could no longer assist Lord North in the Commons. Wedderburn had become Attorney, and Wallace Solicitor-general. The Earl of Suffolk, Secretary of State for the northern department, had died; and his duties were discharged by Lord Weymouth, who, at the same time, presided over the southern department; but who now resigned to Lords Stormont and Hillsborough both offices. The situation of First Lord of the Board of Trade and Plantations was given to the Earl of Carlisle, the late commissioner of the king in America. Earl Gower resigned the office of Lord President of the Council, which was given to the Earl of Bathurst.

Turning to America, we find almost as much discontent as among ourselves. From the combination of France and Spain against England the Americans had expected much: they had anticipated that, to defend her shores from invasion, the



mother country would require all her ships and forces at home: they were, therefore, disappointed when they found that England still remained mistress of the seas. The Americans also differed amongst themselves. Some of the leaders even were more than suspected of being traitors to the common cause. The notorious Tom Paine, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stated that he was in a position to prove that Deane, then conducting American affairs in Paris, had fraudulently attempted to secure wealth for himself by betraying the interests of the nation. Paine was, in consequence, compelled to resign his office; but the charge he had made remained. An extract, about this time, from a letter by Mr. Lawrence, the president of congress, gained publicity; in which, confidently delivering himself to Governor Huiston, of Georgia, he declared, that "he could unfold such scenes of venality, speculation, and fraud, as would astonish his correspondent:" and he added, that "it was in his power to prove, that he must be a pitiful rogue who, when detected or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who, in the present corrupt time, ought to exert all their energies in the support of these friend-plundered, much injured, and, I was almost going to say, sinking states." This deplorable picture, the writer declared, was not too highly coloured. Undoubtedly it produced a great impression at the time.

In 1780, we find the English people troubling themselves very little about America; there were matters nearer and dearer to them to discuss at home. On the motion of Mr. Dunning, it was carried that the power of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished. Other equally spirited resolutions were carried. But an event took place which soon diverted the attention of parliament in another direction: we allude to the Lord George Gordon riots, as they are popularly termed. In Scotland, at this day, there is little real toleration; and at the time to which we refer, it had been repeatedly disgraced by popular demonstrations against the professors of the Roman Catholic faith. Those matters had been noticed in parliament; and in many parts of England a bitter anti-catholic feeling had been aroused. A half-crazed nobleman, Lord George Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon, had become its exponent. In an instance where Burke had presented a petition in favour of the Catholics, his lordship had moved that it should be thrown over the table; and declared that, in consequence of the favour which had been shown to popery, every man in Scotland was prepared to join an insurrection. Out of doors, in a series of extravagant speeches, his lordship had stated it to be his determination to stand by the church, and to resist the pope, the devil, and the ministers.

Pretending vast anxiety for Protestantism—supposed to be endangered when any measure of persecution is repealed, or act of justice done—the members of a no-popery clique called a meeting on Monday, the 29th of May, 1780, to consider the propriety of petitioning for a repeal of the act which had already passed in favour of Roman Catholics. Lord George addressed the assembly, and, in inflammatory language, called on them to resist the measure by every means in their power. In a cause so glorious he was ready to march at their head: it was the cause of conscience and their country; and if, instead of taking the course he recommended, they were content to waste their time in empty words, he advised them to choose some other leader in his place. Accordingly it was resolved to hold an open-air meeting on the subject, in St. George's-in-the-Fields. The vast crowd assembled—consisting, as some report, of as many as 100,000—after an exciting harangue from his lordship, separated into several bodies, and proceeded by different routes to Westminster, and then re-united. It besieged parliament, and insulted obnoxious and liberal statesmen. Inside the scene was equally stormy. The petition presented by his lordship was rejected; and the mob, bent on mischief, commenced the work of plunder and devastation. The Bavarian ambassador's chapel, in Warwick Street, Golden Square, was destroyed; the Sardinian ambassador's chapel, in Duke Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, shared a similar fate. Nor did the disturbances end here: soon after, some Catholics, living near Moorfields, were

molested; and, on Sunday morning, it was thought necessary to send troops there. They endeavoured to seize the ringleaders, but in vain; and the mob, waxing defiant, insulted the military, and did further damage. The next day, Sir George Saville's house, Leicester Fields, was gutted; a bonfire was made of materials stolen from Catholic places of worship, by one crowd of rioters in Welbeck Street, before the house of Lord George Gordon; and, in the course of the same day, several Roman Catholic chapels in the neighbourhood of Wapping were destroyed, and the houses of one or two who had given evidence against the rioters, were plundered and set on fire. Newgate fell a prey to the mob, and 300 prisoners, four of whom were to have been executed on the following Thursday, were set free: the houses of Sir John Fielding, the police magistrate, and Lord Mansfield, were attacked and destroyed. In the course of the day, the King's Bench Prison, the Fleet, the New Gaol, the Clink, and the Surrey Bridewell, were all in flames: the Poultry Compter was the only prison spared in London. Next to hating prisons, a mob has another passion of almost equal intensity—a love for liquor. In Holborn there was an immense distillery, belonging to Mr. Langdale, a Roman Catholic. Accordingly the distillery was attacked, and became an easy prey. By this time, however, ministers and magistrates seemed to have recovered from their panic; and the rioting, which had long been disavowed by Lord George Gordon and the Protestant Association, ceased. It is impossible to estimate how many lives were lost in this disgraceful outbreak. The return made to the commander-in-chief, Lord Amherst, gave, as the result, 210 killed, and 258 wounded: but a still greater number perished from the wretched excesses committed with ardent spirits. The scenes are described in the *Annual Register* as mournful and distressing. "In the streets men were lying upon bulks and stalls, and at the doors of empty houses, drunk to a state of insensibility and contempt of danger; boys and women were in the same condition, and many of the latter with infants in their arms." Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower, and subsequently tried for high treason, but acquitted. His deluded followers did not fare so well: of them, fifty-nine were capitally convicted, and twenty or thirty executed. We may add here that Lord George Gordon ended his mad career in Newgate, 1792.

In the meanwhile the war in America dragged slowly on. The English commander, Clinton, occupied New York, and the places in its vicinity; the French were at Rhode Island; and Washington was at his old station. When parliament met in England, according to the opposition, the nation was in a melancholy state, in consequence of ministerial incapacity. At this period (1781) we meet with, for the first time, the name of William Pitt, the second son of the great Chatham, whose talents had already been magnified by fame. He now presented himself to the House as a reformer and economist: he spoke in reply to Lord Nugent, rising under the gallery on the opposition side. From the first he appears to have been perfectly at home in that assembly, in which he was destined to occupy so conspicuous a place. While he was upon his legs, Lord George Germaine thought it necessary to whisper to Mr. Ellis: and the whispering continuing, the youthful orator was annoyed; who suddenly stopped, after saying—"I shall wait for a time, till the Agamemnon of the present day has finished his conference with the Nestor of the Treasury." This silenced the whisperers, and the young Pitt was felt to have made a hit. When the affairs of America came under consideration, Pitt vindicated the conduct of his father, and declared the war, as carried on, barbarous, unjust, and diabolical; conceived in injustice, and nurtured in folly; and equally fatal to the interests of England and America. In England, much discontent was manifested at the continuance of the war. The West India interest was especially loud in its complaints. Some of our islands in that quarter had been lost; and the remaining islands were so weakly defended, that it was expected they would be shortly captured. The Lord Mayor, aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London, complained of the continuance of the "present unnatural and unfortunate contest," which was described as fatal to our



trade generally; as having annihilated private credit, and deteriorated all the property in the kingdom. Yet Arnold, the traitor, was a sad thorn in the side of the Americans; and Cornwallis was gaining successes—ultimately, however, of little avail, for his army was captured, and he retired in disgrace.

The time had come for England to relinquish claims she could not enforce. When the news of the surrender of Cornwallis's army reached London, great was the consternation in Downing Street. Lord North took it, said Lord Germaine, as he would have taken a ball in his breast: his wonted firmness, which had stood him in such good stead in many a fierce parliamentary contest, was over; and, throwing up his arms in wild dismay, he paced the apartment, ejaculating—"Oh, God! it is all over." In the mind of King George III., however, no thought of peace existed: the Americans were rebellious; and it was his duty, as an anointed king, at all events, to put rebellion down. Against the logic of events, and the shining talents opposed to them, ministers made but a poor defence. Minorca had been taken from us by the French; and it was feared Gibraltar would soon fall into the hands of Spain. The peace party in the House became omnipotent. In February, 1782, General Conway moved a resolution, which was carried, declaring it to be "the opinion of this House, that a further prosecution of offensive war against America, would, under present circumstances, be the means of weakening the efforts of the country against her European enemies, and tend to increase the mutual enmity, or fatal both to the interests of Great Britain and America; and, by preventing a happy reconciliation, frustrate the desire expressed by his majesty of restoring the blessings of peace and tranquillity." In a little while, a still more spirited resolution was carried, to the effect, "that this House will consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who shall advise, or by any means attempt, the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of America." The opposition grew strong, aided by the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.); and Lord North was compelled to resign.

A new cabinet was formed, with the Marquis of Rockingham as its apparent, but with Charles James Fox as its real head. Their measures were—peace with the Americans; a complete and searching reform in the civil list, on the plan recommended by Mr. Burke; and, thirdly, the diminution of the influence of the crown, by the exclusion of contractors from seats in parliament, and the disqualification of revenue officers from voting in the election of members. The ministers, as is often the case, quarrelled among themselves: the Rockinghamites abused Lord Shelburn for want of good faith; and the reply of the Shelburnites was, that they were in no way pledged to Lord Rockingham. Fox disliked Thurlow, and knew himself to be personally obnoxious to the king; and Burke, who had no seat in the cabinet, was discontented with his position. Nevertheless, according to general expectation, peace negotiations were commenced; but at first, apparently, with little success. The tone of England had been so greatly lowered that her enemies were rendered bolder and more exacting. Mr. Fox offered to the hostile confederacy, as a basis, the recognition of American independence, and the *status in quo*. Peace was not less necessary to France and Spain than to England; yet the proposals of the latter were haughtily rejected; and, in the meanwhile, events occurred which still further tended to delay peace negotiations. These were, the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, and the appointment of Lord Shelburn as his successor—a step which caused Fox to resign; and the news of Rodney's splendid victory over the French fleet, commanded by Count de Grasse, in the West Indies. The loss of the enemy in this great battle was enormous: they were deprived of eight ships, seven of which remained as prizes in the hands of the conquerors. Of these, the *Ville de Paris*, of 110 guns, was one. She had cost, in building, £176,000, and had been presented to Louis XV. by the city of Paris. Three thousand men were slain in the fleet of the French, and double that number wounded. In the English fleet, 237 were killed, and 760 wounded. After the action Rodney repaired to Jamaica, where he

was received with transports of joy: he was rewarded with the thanks of parliament; a pension of £2,000 to himself and heirs; and was raised to the peerage, as was Sir Samuel Hood. The nation received the news with greater joy than did the ministers, who, from political and other motives, had despatched Admiral Pigott to the West Indies, with instructions from Admiral Keppel to supersede and send home the victorious Rodney. Arriving at his destination, the admiral took upon him the immediate command; and the amazed and insulted Rodney bade farewell to the fleet he had led on to victory, and returned home, never again to accept any command in the service of his country. This exploit had, however, so chained down the Gallic spirit, and destroyed or captured their first-rate ships, that the French were no longer able to stand out to sea with a complete armament. The Spanish and the Dutch were in a similar situation; and thus way was made for the general peace which took place shortly after. The defeat of Count de Grasse caused great consternation in America. The finances of the republicans were low; their spirits had proportionately declined; and this new disaster gave rise to the most dreary forebodings. Many who had been most sanguine, despaired of success, as, at this juncture, France could help them neither with money or men. In these circumstances Washington held himself calm, undismayed, and superior to misfortune: while he was anxious to see peace concluded, he had every reason to fear that it would come too late. His spirit seems to have almost sunk beneath the weight it had to bear; and the most disheartening anticipations mark his correspondence. The national bank, established by congress, had neither cash nor credit, and money could not be had under 60 per cent.

As regards ourselves, the most spirited episode in the war now happily drawing to a close, was the defence of Gibraltar, then under the charge of General Elliot. Spain, aided by France, was intent on the capture of this celebrated fortress. On every side, by land and sea, the rock was besieged. To enjoy the memorable triumph which the combined powers anticipated, many of the nobility from various courts repaired thither; and among them, Count Artois (afterwards Louis XVIII.), and his cousin the Duke de Bourbon. The eager anxiety of the Spanish monarch to learn that Gibraltar had fallen was extreme. At length the stupendous operations in connection with the siege were matured. De Crillon resolved, on the 1st of September, 1782, that no further delay should be interposed. On came the floating batteries till they got within gunshot, when 400 pieces of heavy artillery began to thunder on the foe. The sight was fearful. By midnight the attacking batteries were in a blaze; and when morning dawned, the defenders beheld their foes at their mercy, and shrieking for means of escape from the consuming fire. General Elliot, as merciful as he was brave, ceased firing; and his officers endeavoured to save and succour those who had come against them to conquer and destroy. De Crillon's memorable attack thus ended with the destruction of the floating batteries; the capture or loss of 150 brass cannons; and the wounding or death of 1,400 men. On the part of the English the casualties were but few, as there were no more than three officers and thirteen soldiers killed; with five officers and sixty-three soldiers wounded. Subsequently, Gibraltar was relieved by Lord Howe: and after this signal discomfiture of the French and Spaniards, and the sacrifices made in vain to recover a barren rock, Spain abandoned the idea of calling Gibraltar once more its own; and thus another obstacle which stood in the way of peace had been removed. France and Holland were anxious for peace, in consequence of the exhausted state of their finances. In the summer of 1782, the English minister at Brussels, Fitzherbert, had been appointed the plenipotentiary of Great Britain, to conclude a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and Holland. At the same time, a merchant named Oswald, known for his intimate acquaintance with American affairs, was commissioned to treat with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, as commissioners on the part of America. Provisional articles were signed by



the English and American commissioners on the 30th of November, which eventually concluded the war, and established American independence. It is said to have been the influence of Franklin which decided the Americans in not publishing this acknowledgment of their independence until the preliminaries of peace had been signed between England and France, though the definitive treaty only appeared in the month of January following. On this occasion Dr. Franklin is described to have assumed the dress which he wore when his conduct was so severely condemned by Wedderburne before the Privy Council. The treaty with Spain progressed hand-in-hand with that of France. England allowed the French to fish off the coast of Newfoundland, from Cape St. John, on the eastern side, round the mouth of the island, to Cape Ray, on the west; and restored, and ceded to France, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, St. Lucia, and Tobago; the river Senegal, and all its dependencies and forts, with the island of Goree in Africa; and all that the English had taken from the French in the East Indies. The articles of the treaty of Utrecht, relating to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, which had been especially galling to France, were now annulled. The latter restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, in the West Indies; and guaranteed to her, in Africa, the possession of Fort James and the river Gambia. Spain obtained the two Flanders, and the island of Minorca; and restored to Great Britain the Bahama islands. Never was a better day's work done than that which concluded this useless war, and established the republic of America—a republic founded on the political equality of man, and on the dignity of labour—a republic which has offered wealth and freedom to the outcast and oppressed of every nation and clime—a republic whose commerce is only second to that of England; and where every one is taught to read and write. The model republic has now been on its trial for nearly eighty years, and experienced a career of prosperity unparalleled in the history of nations; and has latterly given the world a convincing proof of its ability to crush all civil discord, and to preserve its integrity intact. Four years ago it seemed as if the north and south were arrayed in deadly hostility; and as if the confederacy would be divided into two or more separate republics. For a time, the south, with its better military organisation, prospered; and a republic, whose corner-stone was avowedly slavery, appeared to be on the point of being established, to the disgrace of our common humanity. It must be remembered that all this happened while Lord Palmerston was Premier—when Earl Russell had described the north as fighting for empire; and Mr. Gladstone had even so far committed himself as to declare that the south had established its right to existence; when the English aristocracy, and the leading newspapers, were anxious and clamorous for England to recognise the south; when, in many quarters, much misplaced sympathy was expressed for the latter; when any violation of neutrality, any favour shown to them, might have set England and America at war: and yet, never in any way, or by any act or word, did the English government, under Lord Palmerston's direction, swerve from the neutrality it unflinchingly maintained till the unhappy strife was over, the southern confederacy collapsed, and the United States once more answering to its name.

A modern statesman has declared that England does not love coalitions. This truth was realised by the celebrated coalition ministry formed by Fox and North, at the conclusion of the American war. Mr. Pitt, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Shelburne, was succeeded by Lord John Cavendish; Burke became Paymaster of the Forces; and Sheridan was rewarded with the post of Secretary to the Treasury. For some time to come, the affairs of India occupy almost exclusive attention.

India was at this time a source of annoyance, and fear, and trouble to all parties at home. Hastings, the governor-general, was equal to the emergency.

"A crisis had now arrived," writes Lord Macaulay; "with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say, that if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as in America." In Hyder Ali the British encountered the most formidable foe which had hitherto impeded their progress in the East. The government of Madras had provoked his hostility, and was in no condition to defy his resentment. In the summer of 1780, he had left Seringaptam, with an army of 90,000 men: the presidency of Madras, weakened by divisions, and destitute of money, had but 6,000 men, occupying many different posts. On our ally, the Nabob of Arcot, no dependence could be placed. Onward, in irresistible strength, advanced this mighty host. In many British garrisons the sepoys threw away their arms, unable to withstand the terror of Hyder's name. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and others by despair. "The English inhabitants of Madras" (we quote Macaulay) "could already see, by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing habitations. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and trade, when the evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip-trees, and near the gay verandahs. Even the town was not thought secure; and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George." The presidency of Madras was further disturbed by the reported approach of a powerful French armament, to co-operate with Hyder, and to recover Pondicherry. Colonel Baillie and his forces, near Conjeveram, in spite of a gallant defence, were surrounded, and cut in pieces. When the fate of Baillie and his troops was made known to Sir Hector Munro, who was at the head of the other division of the Madras army, he made a precipitate retreat. Hastings was equal to the emergency: he sent money to Madras, though he had none to spare: he recalled the governor of Madras, and despatched Sir Eyre Coote, whose name was a tower of strength as the victor of Plassey, Wandewash, and Pondicherry. Peace was made with the Mahratta chiefs, and Popham was summoned from the Jumna. The English took a swift and sure revenge. Hyder Ali suffered a complete defeat, and saw all his fondest hopes destroyed. He is said to have rested on a stool, placed on an eminence near his army, and to have raved like a madman at witnessing Coote's success. In oriental fashion, the aged chief rent his clothes, and was reluctant to move from the spot till compelled by his attendants to mount his horse, and withdraw. His son, the far-famed Tippoo Saib, was ordered to raise the siege of Wandewash. The latter, reinforced by troops from France, met with some slight success. At this time the aged Hyder Ali died, and Tippoo immediately withdrew from the war, to secure his right to the vast riches his father had left behind. He cherished the wildest dreams—no less than the entire annihilation of British power in India. An army, 90,000 strong, moved at his command. His wealth was enormous; and besides, he had in France a powerful ally. At this juncture of affairs Mr. Fox brought in his India Bill. It was passed by the Commons, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Pitt; and it was thrown out by the Lords. Its failure was a death-blow to the government. Fox and North were compelled to resign. A new cabinet was formed; and Mr. Pitt, though not twenty-five, was gazetted as First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The India Bill, by the cotemporary public, came to be regarded as a pernicious measure, which had its origin in the selfish ambition of the late minister. There is reason to believe that the feeling was not altogether just. Mr. Adolphus candidly remarks—"No plan for the government of India could be framed which was not liable to very great objection;" and he considers it impossible that the parliamentary rejection of Mr. Fox's measure "could have been attended with such signal effects, had not the popularity of the minister been annihilated by means of the accursed coalition."



A formidable opposition to the new minister was organised. His prospects were anything but cheering. He was sustained, however, by the consciousness of his own rectitude, and by the confidence of his king. The government now formed was destined long to conduct the affairs of the British empire, and to exercise vast influence over the fortunes of the globe. It was under its traditions that Lord Palmerston was trained to statesmanship and power; yet, in its origin, it put forth no pretensions, and was spoken of as a political absurdity—as the shadow of an administration; and “Master Billy’s government,” and “Master Billy’s medicines,” were the favourite themes of all the small wits of the day. Fox spoke of the cabinet with unsparing ridicule, and had no hesitation in declaring that it was impossible for the business of the country to be carried on by such an administration. In 1784, a new ministerial coalition was attempted, but failed. By this time a strong party, favourable to the existing government, had been formed in the city, and its freedom was presented to Mr. Pitt. On his way to Grocers’ Hall to receive it, Pitt was cheered loudly and lustily by the mob. Arrived there, and taking the oath, he was addressed at great length by the celebrated John Wilkes. That remarkable person—no longer a demagogue—told the minister that he knew how high he stood in the confidence of the public; and remarked—“Much is to be done; but you have youth, capacity, and firmness; and it is the characteristic of a free people never to despair. Your noble father, sir, annihilated party; and I hope you, in the end, will bear down and conquer the hydra of faction which now rears its hundred heads against you. I remember his once saying, that, for the good of the people, he dared look the proudest connections of this country in the face. I trust that the same spirit animates his son; and as he has the same support of the crown and the people, I am fully persuaded that the same success must follow.” Public feeling was rapidly turning in favour of Mr. Pitt: the satirists of the day unsparingly attacked the unfortunate coalition. The popularity of Fox was no more; and caricatures, exhibiting him in the most ridiculous colours, chiefly in connection with the East India question, were brought out in almost endless succession. One of them, entitled “The Triumphal Entrance of Carlo Khan into Delhi,” is yet preserved by the curious in such matters. The chubby countenance of his new friend, Lord North, was attached to the form of an elephant, on which is seated Fox, arrayed in the gorgeous attire of the Great Mogul, preceded by Burke as his trumpeter.—The youth of Mr. Pitt was now one of his many claims to favour; and the effects of this impression were soon manifest, to the utter dismay of the opposition, of whom more than 150 lost their seats at the ensuing election. Pitt passed, when parliament met, his India Bill; and the measures he brought forward for improving the revenue, proved to be eminently successful. The bill for India introduced a Board of Control, and the system of double government.

By this time the disorders in India had forced themselves on the notice of parliament and the country; and in 1785, Warren Hastings came over to take his trial. This trial, which lasted for seven years, afforded opportunity for oratorical display to the most brilliant men of the day. Burke and Sheridan (especially the former, by his memorable speeches) obtained for themselves imperishable renown. It was a subject of national interest; it fixed attention, for the moment, upon the romance as well as the reality of Indian life; and it reduced its subject to poverty. But the acquittal of Hastings ensured him recompense: the Company bestowed on him a pension of £4,000 a year. In after-years, the House of Commons rose, and uncovered to receive him. George IV., as Prince Regent, paid him personal attention; and his statues and busts grace many a niche in public places of importance. The late Mr. Samuel Phillips admirably summarised his character. We reprint it here. “In his thirty-third year his reign ceased. What had it been? With a resolution which no dangers and no difficulties could daunt; with a genius for resource, fertile in proportion to the demand; with a sagacity that disabled opposition, and commanded success; with a self-possession calm in

every tempest, he had taken in hand a set of provinces imperilled by their disorganisation and by terrible enemies, and he left a constructed and fortified empire. What had been his means? Good and ill, he had stood between the rapacious rulers and the feeble ruled, and was alike beloved by both. As civilian, he held the heart and allegiance of the army. But in India he had used Indian powers. He had not amassed money corruptly; but he corrupted with it. He had extorted treasure; he had broken faith; he had authorised and instigated cruelty; he had violated justice to shed guilty blood; he had held the ordinary moral laws suspended, for the safety and the aggrandisement of the dominion committed to his sway." If it be true that Hastings had not, by corrupt means, acquired wealth for himself, it is to be feared that he was the exception rather than the rule. In the debates on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, the claims made on this chief were enormous, and many of them ill-founded. Against Dundas, Pitt's minister of the new Board of Indian Control, Burke was especially severe. One of the creatures of Dundas, Paul Benfield, was held up to public indignation and scorn. This Paul Benfield, the orator sarcastically remarked, "had been made the grand reformer of the day; the reformer before whom the whole choir of reformers must bow. In the cause of England he had, amidst his charitable toils, still been active, and had not forgotten the poor rotten constitution of his native country. For her sake he had not disdained to stoop to the trade of a wholesale upholsterer to the House of Commons. He had furnished it, not with the faded figures of antiquated merit in tapestry, such as decorate and may reproach some other houses, but with real, solid, living patterns of true moral virtue. Paul Benfield made, not reckoning himself, no fewer than eight members during the last parliament. What copious streams of pure blood must he not have transfused into the veins of the present." In the same strain of irony Burke described Mr. Benfield, immediately after his election, to have shown that he considered the duties of a member of the British parliament might be as well pursued in India as in England; and, accordingly, had defrauded the longing eyes of parliament of the luxury of contemplating a visage which had long reflected the happiness of nations. "He had, however, left his exact resemblance behind, in the grand contractor, Mr. Richard Atkinson, who acted as attorney for Mr. Benfield; and they had all seen how that gentleman made Mr. Pitt's India Bill his own, by the ostentation and authority with which he had brought up clause after clause to stuff and fatten that corrupt measure, all of which had been received with dutiful submission." Burke's speech, with a copious appendix, was published, with immense effect. It shook the popularity of Pitt; and the imputations it threw on Dundas were remembered against him for many years to come. The debts of the nabob were long a bone of contention in parliament, as Burke and his party maintained that many of the claims were incapable of proof. In 1814, thirty years after, commissioners appointed to investigate the subject, decided, that out of debts claimed to the amount of £20,390,570, no more than £1,346,796 were proved to be just.

Mr. Pitt contented himself with proposing political and economical reforms. The latter he carried. The others did not fare so well. Yet had his scheme been successful, it would have postponed the grand struggle for reform which triumphed in 1831. His plan was of a mildly innovating character: he proposed to enact that thirty-six boroughs, each of which had sent two representatives to the House, should be disfranchised, and that number given to the counties and unrepresented towns. It also provided a compensation, in money, to the proprietors of the disfranchised boroughs, and granted the right of voting, in county elections, to copyholders. The scheme was rejected, and heard of no more. In 1786, Pitt established his celebrated sinking fund. The plan was, to set apart £1,000,000 for that purpose; to which was to be added the interest of £100,000, inalienably appropriated to the reduction of the debt. In the same year, also, a treaty of commerce was concluded with France, which was to last twelve years. Mr. Pitt's speech on the occasion contained precisely the same arguments as those used by Mr.



Cobden and Lord Palmerston to defend their treaty with France. "A commercial treaty like the one under consideration," Mr. Pitt observed, "would tend to render both nations anxious for the preservation of peace. For long," he said, "the fatal differences between the two nations had not only harassed them, but embroiled the rest of Europe in war." He trusted the time was come when they would show, that instead of seeking the destruction of each other, they would make it apparent that they had a higher and a better purpose—the cultivation of friendly intercourse, and the extension of universal benevolence. Another subject (in which Lord Palmerston was afterwards to take no common interest) came on for discussion at this time—that of the suppression of the slave-trade. The idea of stopping it was at first considered ridiculous and absurd by the statesmen of the day. The Society of Friends took the matter up; and Mr. Ramsey's *Essay on the Treatment and Traffic in Slaves*, and Mr. Clarkson's work, produced a great effect on the public mind. Mr. Wilberforce, the distinguished philanthropist, and intimate friend of Pitt, came to their aid. A society in London, of which Granville Sharp was president, was formed to forward the object in view; and Lady Middleton associated herself with other ladies to make converts to the cause. In 1788, certain members of the Privy Council were appointed to investigate the state of our commercial intercourse with Africa. In the absence of Wilberforce, from ill health, Mr. Pitt submitted to the House of Commons a resolution, to the effect that "they would, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to take into consideration the circumstances of the slave-trade, complained of in the petitions presented to the House, and what might be fit to be done thereupon." Liverpool and the African traders were on the alert; and, after all, little was done except passing Sir William Dolben's bill, insuring more humane treatment to the negroes on their passage from Africa. Pitt, for some time, moved no further in the matter; he had other things to attend to. One trouble was the conduct of the Prince of Wales, who, selfish and sensual, was over head and ears in debt, and gave all the support in his power to Fox and Sheridan, and the minister's political foes. Another difficulty was the king's insanity, which set all the elements of party warfare in motion. In their anxiety to please the prince, Fox and his friends asserted the right of the Prince of Wales to the regency. Pitt carried the day; and a commission, under the great seal, was appointed to open parliament in the name of his majesty; and, subsequently, to give the royal assent to such bills as the two Houses might approve. A restricted regency was proposed, which the prince, after (in a letter supposed to have been written by Burke) severely criticising, condescended to accept. The bill was, however, rendered unnecessary by the king's recovery. The excesses of the Prince of Wales, and his repeated applications for pecuniary aid, had not rendered him a favourite with the people; and the joy manifested when it was found that it was no longer necessary to pass a Regency Bill, was as great as it was unusual. The nation rallied round its king, whose plain, decent virtues appeared all the brighter when compared with the unprincipled and profligate character of his heir-apparent. The Whigs were in despair: all power seemed centred in Pitt, who, blind to the future, saw nought in the gigantic struggle which lay before him—a struggle of which he was to be the life and soul—a struggle which was, in time, and for a time, to be victorious—a struggle, nevertheless, which wore down his strength, and broke his heart. In every country on the continent there was restlessness and sullen discontent. The French revolution was at hand.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE FALL OF MONARCHY IN FRANCE.

FRANCE had long been in an unsatisfactory condition. The nation was in debt; the land was overrun with the poor; and the upper classes were frivolous to a degree which we can scarcely imagine in these hard and serious times in which we live. Property has its duties as well as its rights; and in France, it is very clear, the former half of this important maxim was altogether forgotten. In a book rarely read now, we get a picture of French society, perfectly appalling, illustrating the frivolity and the idleness of the privileged classes. We allude to the *Memoirs of the Countess de Genlis*. To get up masquerades—to take part in theatrical performances—to sing, and dance, and intrigue—to flatter their superiors, and to ignore the existence of all below them in the social scale, seems to have been the sole aim of existence. Her aunt and herself lived much in Court circles. “We owed the brilliant party which was then at Villers-Coterets to Madame de Montesson. For this reason, all the ladies wished that my aunt should succeed in inspiring the prince with a vivid passion. [Madame de Montesson, be it understood, was the aunt referred to.] It was far more desirable for them that the mistress of the prince should be a person of rank than a courtesan; for, in the former case, they could again enjoy his society.” Pretty cool this, for a lady who became an instructor and guide of the young princes of the blood. Nor is this all. In order that the Duke of Orleans might be alone in the field, a rival was despatched on an embassy to the Court of Frederick the Great. Madame de Genlis saw the infamous Du Barry at Court; and her disgust at seeing a common prostitute pompously presented to the whole of the royal family, was unbounded. Upon which she remarks—“This and many other instances of unparalleled indecency, powerfully assisted in degrading royalty in France, and consequently contributed to bring about the revolution.” Of the refined French noblemen of the period, we have a striking picture in the sketch of the Marechal de Biron:—“Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans; and the Marechal de Biron might be said to be the last fanatic of royalty; for he never gave a thought to politics or forms of government in the course of his life. His real vocation consisted in making a figure at Court; in speaking with grace and dignity to a king; in being acquainted with, and in feeling the different degrees of respect to be paid to, the sovereign and the princes of the blood; and the attention due to a man of quality, as well as the dignified manner appropriate to a man of rank. All his fine taste, all his knowledge of etiquette, all his graces, would have been destroyed by a system of equality. He worshipped the king because he was king. He might have said what Montague said of his friend, La Boche—‘I love him because I love him—because he is what he is, and I am what I am.’ The Marechal, in different language, gave the same explanation of his strong attachment to the king. It was most amusing, even then, to hear him speaking of republics; for he considered republicans as a sort of barbarians.” Writing of the Duke of Chartres, Madame de Genlis says—“When the young prince’s education was completed, the first paternal care of the Duke of Orleans was to give him a mistress—a girl whom an abandoned wretch was bringing up as a courtesan, and sold to him as quite new. The Duke of Orleans boasted of this action as a very kind and prudent precaution.” No wonder that Madame de Genlis could detect an under-current at work, fatal to the society and Court. “At this period,” she writes, “grand recollections, and recent traditions, still maintained in France good principles, sound ideas, and national virtues, already somewhat weakened



by pernicious writings, and a reign full of faults. In a short time the influence of these feelings scarcely appeared, except in an elevated style, in a simple *theory* of delicate and generous conduct. Virtue was retained only from the remains of good taste, which still held in esteem its language and appearance. Every one, to conceal his own way of thinking, became stricter in observing the *bienséances*; the most refined ideas were sported in conversation concerning delicacy, greatness of mind, and the duties of friendship; and even chimerical virtues were fancied—which was easy enough, considering that the happy agreement of conversation and conduct did not exist. But tyranny always betrays itself by exaggeration, for it never knows where to stop: false sensibility has no shades; never employs any but the strongest colours; and heaps them on with the most ridiculous prodigality. There now appeared in society a very numerous party of both sexes, who declared themselves the partisans and depositaries of the old traditions respecting taste, etiquette, and morals, which they boasted of having brought to perfection. They declared themselves supreme *artistes* in all the proprieties of social life; and claimed for themselves, exclusively, the high-sounding appellation of good society." To be one of them, neither a spotless character nor eminent merit was necessary. Infidels, devotees, and pruders were indiscriminately admitted. "The only qualifications necessary, were *bon ton*, dignified manners, and a certain respect in society, acquired by birth, rank, and credit at Court; or by display, wealth, talent, and personal accomplishments. Alas! all this was nought but the external coat of ancient manners, preserved by habit and good taste, which always survive the principles that produced them; but which, having no longer any solid basis, gradually loses its original beauties, and is finally destroyed by the inroads of refinement and exaggeration." A false and conventional delicacy prevailed. For a lady to be on the sofa with her feet uncovered, was to be indelicate. It was indelicate to have her hair dressed by a barber. To appear in the presence of ladies in boots was bad taste. French society—unrivalled in frivolity—was untrue, and false as frivolous.

"For a long period," writes Madame de Genlis, mournfully, "the revolution had been preparing, and all respect for monarchy was now destroyed. It was become the fashion to defy the Court in everything, and to ridicule the monarchy. No one went to Versailles but with unwillingness and complaints; every one said that nothing was so tiresome as Versailles and the Court; and everything the Court approved, was disapproved by the public: even the theatrical pieces applauded at Versailles, were hissed at Paris. A disgraced minister was sure of the public favour; and if he was exiled, every one went eagerly to visit him, not through real greatness of soul, but merely to have the pleasure of blackening and condemning all that the Court did." The finances were in a very bad condition; and in order to remedy them, it was thought advisable to assemble the states-general. There is nothing so injudicious as asking at once for advice and money; for you always receive the latter, accompanied with very hard conditions. "The Duke of Orleans and M. Lauzun were one night at my house. The assembly of notables had already met. I said that I hoped these assemblies would reform many abuses. The Duke of Orleans replied, and maintained, that they would not even suppress the *lettres de cachet*. A bet was made between the Duke of Orleans and M. de Lauzun. They wrote it down, and gave it to me to keep." Madame showed the paper successively to more than fifty persons; and the opinion of the Duke of Orleans was precisely that of almost all the people of quality. A revolution was regarded as an impossible event. Rich people little knew what poor people think about. Some courtiers, kings and queens, never hear the harsh accents of truth. Men laughed at Noah when he prophesied the coming of the Deluge; and went feasting and dancing, and marrying, and giving in marriage, to the very last: and thus was it in France, where even society, rotten to its core—where even a noblesse, vain and frivolous—where even a Court, from which all virtue had gone forth—helped the avenging storm. Thinkers

saw that something was rotten in the state of Denmark — saw all — to the vain, and unreal, and conventional; and drew ideal pictures of a state of equal laws and rights. On the other side of the Atlantic the dream had been realised. Frenchmen had fought side by side with Washington and the soldiers of America for freedom; and they could not return to be serfs and slaves at home. America returned them to France as apostles and ministers of a new crusade. No tongue can tell the wretchedness of the peasantry of France before the revolution. Body and soul, he was the slave of his feudal lord. In the present day it fares but badly with an English agricultural labourer. The Irishman at home, in his mud-built hut, with his pig in one corner, and his straw bed in the other, is by no means to be envied; but they are better off than was the French peasant in the times of which we write. No taxes were paid by the *château*; on the poor they were imposed with terrible severity. All classes were longing for change. Peace had not brought prosperity; and when money was required, no one cared to give it.

Louis XVI. was unfit for the difficult part he had to play. He was without force of mind; assumed with difficulty the dignity of his position; was reserved and heavy in familiar society, with sudden fits of ill-humour, and possessing entirely different tastes and temper from his too fascinating and ill-fated queen. While she lived a very gay and careless life—a life which, at any rate, exposed her to scandal—he spent his time in hunting, or in manual labour, or in reckoning up his private expenses. The most decided taste of Louis XVI. was for the mechanical labours of the artisan; and he never felt so happy as when, having dismissed his Council, he could steal up to the little staircase which led to his forge. He was proud of showing his robust constitution, in carrying about, with his own arms, the anvil and other tools with which he worked; and in the queen's intimate circle, the traces which the king carried with him of his mechanical operations, his postures and heaviness, and even his great appetite, were the common objects of mockery and derision. In the queen's society the king went by the ordinary name of Vulcan; and this poor joke was often combined with allusions which were not quite respectful to Marie Antoinette. In fact, while Louis XVI. was working at his anvil, he neglected both his wife and his kingdom; though it may well be doubted if he possessed the capacity of mind to enable him to do anything towards saving the latter. It is told as an anecdote illustrating the extreme littleness of the king's mind, that one day Turgot found him busily engaged in drawing up the project of a new law, which he found, on examination, to be perfectly well compiled; but the object of legislation was—rabbits. Louis, indeed, loved hunting to excess; and he devoted much of his time to it. The king was accustomed to keep a diary of all he did, written in his own hand; which has been preserved and printed.\* From this we learn that Louis often speculated in the lottery; and he carefully enters his gains. The day on which the king did not go to the chase is always marked by the word *rien* (nothing), as though it were a day lost; and it required very grave events to interrupt him in this practice. He killed a great quantity of game of all sorts, and made weekly and monthly reckonings of all he had slain. In one year this amounted to the number of 8,400 head. We may anticipate events for a moment in order to give an extract from this journal, in illustration of our remarks. During the memorable month of July, 1789, the days which were most eventful almost always began with the same significant word, "nothing." Thus—"Wednesday, 1st, nothing; deputation of the estates. Thursday, 9th, nothing; deputation of the estates. Friday, 10th, nothing; reply to the deputation of the estates. Saturday, 11th, nothing; departure of M. Necker. Tuesday, 14th, nothing." This last day was actually that of the capture of the Bastille by the people of Paris, in which others saw a very great deal. Again, in October, 1789, we find such entries as—"Monday, 5th, shooting at the gate of Chatillon; killed eighty-one head; interrupted by events; went and returned on horseback. Tues-

\* *History of France*; by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A.



day, 6th, the departure for Paris at half-past twelve; visit to the Hôtel-de-Ville; supped and slept at the Tuileries." No wonder this poor, helpless king, when the storm came, lost his crown, and, under Calonne, went thoughtlessly the road to ruin. The extravagance of the latter was unbounded. Everybody had money: he used even to treat his mistresses with *bon bons* wrapped up in treasury bills. The bursting of the bubble, known as Law's Mississippi scheme, had impoverished many. The affair of Cardinal de Rohan and the diamond necklace—an affair, at this time, enveloped in mystery—did much to damage the popularity of the queen: and Calonne, in need of money, saw but one way to raise it—the assembly of the notables. The king accepted the scheme, as he saw no other alternative; and they assembled in 1787. How the assembly failed—how it became unruly and unmanageable, is matter of history. Calonne was dismissed, and the Archbishop of Toulouse was appointed, in consequence of the pressure of the queen, in his place. But he was not more fortunate than his predecessor; and the estates-general was demanded as the best means of devising a remedy for financial and other disasters. The parliament was banished; and the people and the king became yet more exasperated with each other. At length something was conceded; and, on the 8th of August, 1788, a decree appeared, announcing that the estates-general were to assemble on the 1st of May, 1789. Necker, who had been dismissed in despair, was sent for. On receiving the royal message, he was said to have exclaimed, "It is too late." Nevertheless, he was persuaded to undertake the direction of the government. His name restored public confidence to such a degree, that, on the day of his nomination to the ministry, the funds rose 30 per cent.; and he obtained, with wonderful ease, the money which was to relieve the state from its financial difficulties.

Necker's talents as a politician were much inferior to those which distinguished him as a financier; and the political state of France had now become more alarming than all her other difficulties. There was a fierce contention as to the manner in which the estates-general should be formed; and, as usual, the question was decided in opposition to the wishes of the Court. The seasons, also, fought against the government. There had been a deficient harvest, and the winter was unusually severe. Popular agitation increased; numerous clubs were formed, in which the sufferings of the people, the abuses of government, and even the necessity of a new constitution, were discussed in the most open manner. Publications of all kinds tended still more to excite and embitter contending parties. Such was the state of things when, on the 24th of January, 1789, the regulations for the convocation of the estates-general were published. The elections were not made at once, but followed one another during three months; and their forms were often regulated by the old provincial usages. In many parts they were attended with violent tumults: as, for instance, in Provence, where the Marquis of Mirabeau, a man remarkable for his talents and his immoralities, was rejected by the nobles from their chamber, and thrown into the rank of the third estate. However, the appointed day came, and May 5th, 1789, was the opening day. On the previous day, the king, with the three orders, and all the dignitaries of state, went, in solemn procession, from the church of Notre-Dame to that of St. Louis. The weather was fine, and immense multitudes had crowded into Versailles. First marched the clergy, dressed in cassock, mantle, and square cap, or in violet gown and in *rochet*, according to their grades. Next came the nobles in black habits, with vest and facings of cloth of gold, cravat of lace, and hat with white feathers, turned up in the style of the age of Henry IV. Last came the third estate, modestly clothed in black, with a short mantle, muslin cravat, and a plain hat without feathers. This description of costume had been proscribed by the king, and had already given great offence to that order which it concerned him most to conciliate. What, however, the third estate lost in show, was amply made up to them by the enthusiastic acclamations with which the populace received them—acclamations which were refused to the two privileged orders. The king, also, was received with fresh demonstrations of popular favour; for he had convoked the estates-

general; and people believed that now the salvation of the country was near at hand.

At length the deputies met in the great hall. The clergy were seated on the right of the throne; the nobles on the left; and the commons in front. After the deputies and ministers of state had taken their places, the king made his appearance, followed by the queen, the princes, and a brilliant retinue. When the king had rested himself on the throne, and put on his hat, the third estate, contrary to ancient usage, imitated the two other orders in putting on their hats—an intimation that they were no longer disposed to submit to the humiliating distinction which had formerly separated them from the nobles and the clergy. The opening speech of the king was not a happy one; nor did his ministers much mend matters. Weeks were wasted in a struggle between the third estate and the other two as to verification; and out of this struggle grew the national assembly. The new council thus formed became omnipotent. In vain the king suspended them; they met elsewhere. Troops arrived in Versailles; the nobles withdrew from the assembly; the king remonstrated, and threw every obstacle in the way of the assembly. Necker was dismissed a second time; Paris was in a state of insurrection; and the Bastille, the standing menace of the people, was razed, by an infuriated mob, to the ground. The capture of the Bastille at this moment most probably saved the popular cause; for there can be no doubt that a well-concerted popular attack upon Paris was to have been carried into effect that night. When the news of the capture of the Bastille reached the Court, the king had retired to rest, and his council had decided to keep it from him. But the Duke of Liancourt, taking advantage of his office of grand master of the wardrobe, roused the king, and informed him of what had taken place. "It is a revolt," exclaimed the king, in surprise. "No," said the duke, "it is a revolution." The duke then pointed out to him the perils to which he exposed himself by adopting the violent projects of the Court; the exasperation of the people, and the disaffection of the troops; and the king resolved to present himself before the assembly next morning, and assure them of his good intentions. Meanwhile the queen had been surrounded with other councillors, who, still blind as to the real strength and resolution of the Parisians, had discussed projects of the most violent kind. Amidst the warmest expressions of applause, the king addressed the assembly, in fulfilment of his promise. Necker was recalled to office; and the king paid Paris a visit. The scene was an affecting one. Bailly was confirmed in his appointment of mayor, and Lafayette was made commander-in-chief of the militia of the capital. Still, France was not easy. Foulon and Berthier, ex-ministers, were massacred by an infuriated mob; and insurrections were announced in Normandy, Burgundy, and at Pontoise. Meanwhile the assembly hastened on its work, and in one night decreed the abolition of the quality of serf; the power of redeeming the seignorial rights; the abolition of seignorial jurisdictions; the suppression of all exclusive rights of chase, warren, &c.; the redemption of the tithes; the equalisation of taxes; the equal right of admission of all citizens to employment, whether civil or military; the entire abolition of venality of offices; the destruction of all privileges of towns and provinces; and several other abuses. On the 13th of August these articles were presented to the king, who confirmed them, and accepted the title of Restorer of French Liberty. A *Te Deum* was celebrated with great pomp, the king assisting in person; the president of the assembly walking at his right hand, and all the deputies following in succession. Thus was completed the first grand step in the formation of the constitution. A loan of 30,000,000 francs was then agreed to, and a declaration of rights was drawn up. The next difficulty was as to the veto to be allowed the king. Out of doors the word was a bugbear, which created a profound discontent in Paris. Other questions discussed were, the permanence of the assemblies and the two chambers.

But while these things were being debated October had arrived, and with it a rising more formidable than any which had hitherto taken place. On Sunday, the 4th,



the capital was greatly agitated. On the morrow mobs again assembled in different quarters, headed by infuriated women, demanding bread. To go to Versailles—to rescue the king from his evil councillors—to bring him back to Paris—and to give bread to all who needed it, were their aims. One deputation of them addressed the assembly; while another addressed the king. Lafayette arrived, in hot haste, from Paris; and it was hoped all would yet be well: but he and the Court were disappointed. The mobs of men and women spent all night round great fires, increasing their ferocity by drinking and uttering threats of vengeance against the body-guard and against the queen. Already some had lost their lives in collisions with the soldiers; and, on the next day, a still more terrible scene ensued. From his slumbers the king awoke to find himself almost a prisoner in their hands. They wanted him to go to Paris. Well, to Paris he would go. The national assembly passed a decree declaring itself inseparable from the king's person; and appointed a deputation of a hundred of its members to accompany him. Marie Antoinette, the dauphin, and the other members of the royal family formed part of the melancholy procession. The latter took up their residence at the Tuileries, the guard of which was entrusted to the Parisian militia, under Lafayette, who was thus made responsible to the nation for the safety of the king; who, for a time, believed himself almost popular again. Louis, now placed in a most critical condition, could not realise the dangerous nature of the crisis: he was cold and reserved to the popular deputies.

Mirabeau was not one of those who sought the entire destruction of the existing order of things; and he became sincerely anxious to preserve the crown from the ruin which threatened it. Confident of his own powers, he had resolved to place himself between the throne and those who were undermining it, and to consult his own interests as well. A negotiation was entered into, and Mirabeau was flattered and caressed by the queen: he was needy, and money was placed at his disposal. Bouillé was a man of talent and courage—an aristocrat, but sensible withal. He had withdrawn to Metz, where he had a great part of the army under his command; and he acknowledged, in his own memoirs, that he laboured to attach the soldiers to the Court, by exciting a feeling of rivalry between them and the national guard. Nevertheless, having once taken the civic oath, he showed a resolution not to act against the constitution; and, disgusted at the feeble and unwise policy of the Court, he only remained at his post at the earnest desire of the king. If the Court could have united in its interests Lafayette, Mirabeau, and Bouillé, it would have held in its hands the three great forces of the state—the national guard, the assembly, and the army; but a variety of circumstances stood in the way of any hearty union between these chiefs. Lafayette was the only one of the three who was ready to act cordially with any one who was willing to support the king and the constitution; but Mirabeau was jealous of Lafayette's influence, and, still more so, of his virtue; and Bouillé disliked him, because he looked upon him as an enthusiast: and thus the golden opportunity was lost. Meanwhile the national assembly went on reforming the constitution, considering the state of the finances, and the troubled condition of the country. At length the grand *fête* of the nation was celebrated in the Champ de Mars. The royal family were present; Talleyrand said mass: the king took the oath of the constitution; the queen, taking the young dauphin in her arms, showed him to the people and the army. All was enthusiasm and loyalty. Unhappily the clouds were soon overcast. The gleam of sunshine was short-lived as an April day. Towards the end of 1790, the king, resenting the charge of his ministers, and alarmed at the violent debates on ecclesiastical affairs (provoked by the intrigues of the clergy), began to think seriously of making his escape; and he wrote on the subject to Bouillé, who was strongly opposed to it, but yielded, in order to convince the king of his loyalty by his obedience. At this very moment Mirabeau also had formed a plan for the king's escape, but in a different direction. His plan was, to remove the king from Paris to Lyons, by which he would have been withdrawn from the despotism of the

Paris mob and the national assembly. From Lyons Louis would have proclaimed firmly his reasons for disapproving the new constitution, and also have promulgated, in its place, another which was already prepared. At the same time a new legislature would have been convoked. Bouillé was aware of these plans: they were concealed from Lafayette. There were plots of reaction on all sides—at Coblenz, at Lyons, at Türrin, and elsewhere. Paris became alarmed. As regards their objects, these new plots were equally futile; but they kept all parties in a state of suspense; and the death of Mirabeau, in March, 1791, was for the royal family an untoward event. Louis, as we can easily imagine, became more anxious than ever to effect his escape. In certain quarters, great preparations had been made for his reception. The Austrian emperor had engaged to send 35,000 men into Flanders, and 15,000 into Alsace; and announced that armies of Swiss and Piedmontese were preparing to march upon Lyons, and into Dauphiné; and that the King of Spain was also assembling an army of 20,000 men. He assured Louis, further, of the co-operation of the King of Prussia, and of the neutrality of the King of England. A manifesto, in the name of the House of Bourbon, was to be signed by the kings of Naples and Spain, the Prince of Parma, and the emigrant princes. Poor Louis was too eager to escape, and fled before proper arrangements could be made; and he wrote to Bouillé, that it was his intention to proceed, without delay, to Montmedi, where he would be close on the frontier. Contrary, however, to the recommendations of that general, Louis chose the Chalons road, by way of Clermont and Varennes. The time fixed for the king's departure from Paris was the night of the 19th of June. Bouillé, on the pretence of some hostile movement of the enemies of France, which he pretended to have remarked, formed a camp at Montmedi, and assembled there some of the most trustworthy of his troops. He was, on the appointed day, on the pretence of escorting treasure for the payment of his troops, to send out numerous detachments of cavalry to different points on the road, to receive the king on his way: the queen undertook the direction of measures necessary for the securing his journey between Paris and Chalons. She had contrived a secret passage which led out of the palace; and a false passport was prepared, under which the royal travellers were to pass as ordinary persons. Everything was in readiness at the time appointed; but, unfortunately, the king and queen allowed some domestic arrangements to interfere. On the midnight of the 20th they started on their ill-fated journey. The delay was fatal. The soldiers who were to have met them had retired; and when, at one place, the king put his head out of the window while they waited to change horses, he was detected by the postmaster's son, who rode off to Varennes, and arrived before the royal family. The king was again there compelled to stop, on the pretence of examining his passport. In vain Bouillé's troops came up; the national guards poured into Varennes from the country round, and, joining with those of the town, they soon filled the place, and rendered any immediate attempt at escape impossible. The news of the flight of the royal family caused the greatest agitation in Paris. A deputation was sent to bring them back. Of that memorable return we need not give the particulars. From that time all popular respect for the person of the sovereign vanished; the link which united the king and the constitution was now rudely snapped asunder. Paris turned out to witness his return; but an ominous silence everywhere prevailed.

Events passed on rapidly, and, day by day, an angrier feeling existed on all sides. At length, on the 30th of September, 1791, the national assembly dissolved itself. "Thus," says one of the great historians of the French revolution, "the constituent assembly terminated its long and laborious career; and, in spite of its noble courage, its perfect equity, and its immense labours, it was hated—at Coblenz as revolutionary, and at Paris as aristocratic." When the new assembly met, Lafayette resigned his command of the national guards, and retired to seek temporary repose on his estates, after having not only merited well of his country, but having done services to the Court which had been repaid



with distrust. He represented that he had accepted the command only to protect the labours of the formation of the constitution; and that now that the constitution was completed, and the assembly which made it was dissolved, his term of office had terminated. He carried with him the love and respect of the national guard, of the constitutional party, and of all moderate patriots.

In the new assembly, the men who were for extreme measures, the Jacobin party, gained a preponderance, and passed a decisive act against the emigrants, who were to be deprived of their estates, and treated as enemies, if they did not return by the 1st of January, 1792. The nonjuring priests were next dealt with; and the church, of which Louis XVI. had ever been a devout son, was greatly alarmed. After he had resolved not to sanction the decree against the priests, he began to lend himself, with a greater appearance of cordiality, to the irritation of the assembly against the emigrants who were in arms, and against the foreign powers who recognised them. The year ended with another attack on the ceremonial usages of the Court—attacks which had been made before, but which now betokened how completely the divinity which doth hedge in a king had been broken down. In a letter written to Louis by the legislative body, the words *sire* and *majesty* were suppressed. All this while France was in a very melancholy condition. The laws were hardly enforced in the provinces, which were filled with every sort of turbulence and injustice; while all the effective power had fallen into the hands of the Jacobin club, who used it for their own purposes. The king, outwardly obliged to conform to the will of the assembly, was overcome with secret grief; and rumours of his discontent, which escaped on all sides, in spite of Louis's efforts to conceal it, increased the popular suspicion of his insincerity. The legislative assembly was in very little better condition; being under the dominion of the clubs and the mob, who occupied the galleries; and it was in this state of things—while the army and navy were in a state of insubordination; while lawless men filled the land; while property of all kinds was depreciated, and assignats circulated at a loss of 50 per cent.—that the assembly was insolently defying all the powers of Europe, and endeavouring to compel the king to declare war; and, accordingly, in April, 1792, war was declared against Francis I. The nation was pleased. Some saw in the fact that war was to be carried on, the end of the fears which had been caused by the proceedings of the emigrants, and by the uncertainty as to the king's sincerity; others hoped that the more turbulent part of the population would be carried off to the army, and perish on the field of battle. Yet war was only the introduction to new and still greater internal convulsions. The first hostilities were not fortunate. The minister, Dumouriez, had long had his eyes upon Belgium, recently engaged in rebellion against Austria; and which was suppressed with much difficulty. Belgium, it was expected, would look upon the French as liberators; and her union with France, then as now, in many men's minds, formed part of the plan for extending the French territory to its natural limits. The direction of the expedition against Belgium was given to Lafayette, as the man most fitted for the undertaking. Yet that officer was only entrusted with a limited command, because he was an object of suspicion to the republicans; and, perhaps, still more because Dumouriez was jealous of him.

The king distrusted and offended all who really endeavoured to save him from the abyss of ruin into which he was rapidly passing. The Girondists, Dumouriez, Lafayette, all would have befriended him if they could have been permitted to do so by Louis himself. At this time Lafayette was proclaimed by the clubs, and began to be looked upon by the populace as a traitor to the country; and the popular party, already alarmed by their suspicions at the designs of the Court, became doubly so at the threatening attitude which the general and his army appeared to be assuming. Under these feelings they seemed to have resolved to strike a blow at the Court before it could receive any assistance. In Paris and the provinces an insurrectionary agitation

prevailed. Pétion, the mayor, declared his belief that another revolution was necessary for the salvation of the country. It is said, that about the end of May, or beginning of June, Pétion had been present, with Robespierre and other of the republican leaders, at private meetings held at Santerre's, at which violent measures had been decided on. About this time, also, the people of the faubourgs began to talk of holding a festival on the 20th of June, to celebrate the anniversary of the oaths of the tennis-court. A fresh act of unpopularity on the part of the ill-fated king, added fuel to the flame. The night of the 19th of June was spent in active preparation for the insurrection of the morrow. To silence the scruples of his followers, Santerre said—"Why are you afraid? The national guards will have no orders to fire, and Pétion will be there." And when that morrow came Paris was in the hands of the mob. As soon as the doors of the national assembly were opened, a procession of at least 30,000 men entered. Six or seven musicians preceded, playing the popular *Ca Ira*. These men carried enormous tablets, on which were inscribed the rights of man; and around which women and children danced, brandishing pikes and branches of olive, as tokens of the alternative of war or peace. Then came labourers, all armed, more or less; and women as well as men followed, bearing designs and emblems, some of them actually atrocious—one man, for instance, carrying, on the point of a pike, a calf's head, with the inscription, "*Cœur d'Aristocratte*" (head of an aristocrat). Next the mob besieged the Tuileries. For a little time all went on well, as the gate of the garden was opened by the king's order; and the people rushing through it, defiled under the windows of the Tuileries, and in front of the national guard, shouting, "*A bas le veto! Vivent les sans culottes!*" but no hostile feeling was entertained. Santerre, the evil spirit of the mob, however, appeared upon the scene, and all was changed. The crowd became still more excited. The private apartments of the king were besieged, and entrance was gained. Louis was forced to wear the red cap, and to take wine from the hands of the half-drunken mob. The red cap was also placed on the head of the young dauphin. All the afternoon this terrible infliction existed. At length Pétion made his appearance, and the mob withdrew. At night, the royal family met together, and burst into tears. The king was then, for the first time, reminded that he had still the red cap on his head; and, seizing it with his hand, he threw it down with indignation. A deputation was announced from the assembly, and the queen conducted them round the palace; showed them the havoc committed by the mob; and did not conceal from them the grief she felt at the outrages to which the royal family had been exposed. One of these deputies was Merlin, of Thionville, one of the most violent of the republican party. The queen perceived tears in this man's eyes, and said to him—"You weep to see the king and his family treated so cruelly by a people whom he has always wished to render happy." "It is true, madame," Merlin replied, "that I weep over the misfortunes of a woman who is beautiful, sensitive, and the mother of a family; but do not mistake me in it—there is not one of my tears for the king or for the queen; I hate kings and queens." And such were the sentiments, on the eve of triumph, all over France.

Everything now seemed to conspire against the unfortunate king. Lafayette, full of devotion to the royal cause, presented himself at the palace. Instead of being welcomed, he was treated in an insulting manner by the courtiers; and was received with extreme coldness by the king and queen. Lafayette quitted the Tuileries in deep affliction; not so much at the reception he had encountered, as far as regarded himself, as at the hopelessness of the cause of Louis XVI. Just about this time, also, appeared a document, calculated, above all other things, to irritate the French patriots—the impolitic manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick. Louis XVI. had secretly, by his agent, Mallet du Pau, suggested to the allies that a proclamation should be made to his subjects of a conciliatory nature; whereas, the Duke of Brunswick, under the influence of the emigrants, while adopting the suggestion, gave it a character which Louis never could have anticipated. This



ill-judged manifesto paralysed all that remained of the constitutional party in France, and led to the fatal catastrophe, which, under happier auspices, and wiser councils, might have been averted. One last effort was made to save him, and a plan of flight was fixed on, in which Lafayette and M. de Liancourt were to assist. Had the king remained firm in his resolution, he might, in all probability, have been saved; but next morning his resolution was entirely changed. To the consternation of all his friends, he declared that he would rather remain in Paris than provoke a civil war. It was the excuse he had made on several occasions: but the king's friends soon discovered that, this time at least, it was not true; and that the real cause of the change in Louis's mind, was the intelligence he had received, on the one hand, that the Duke of Brunswick hoped to reach Paris very rapidly; and, on the other, that the insurrection of the 10th of August had been adjourned. The queen had told him that it would be better to run any risk than to place himself under obligations to the friends of the constitution; and he was but too willing to listen to this counsel. At length the 10th of August came; and when daylight broke, the palace was already surrounded by insurgents, who had pointed their cannon against the building. The king and the royal family left it, never more to return. The loyal Swiss soldiers were massacred; and the assembly passed a decree for the deposition of their king. It ran thus:—"Louis XVI. is provisionally suspended from the royalty; a plan of education is ordained for the prince-royal; a national convention is convoked." The commune of Paris now gave terrible proof of its activity; for its committee of surveillance was composed of the most violent men of the revolutionary party; and its chief was the sanguinary Marat, who seemed to have devoted his whole existence to denouncing everybody to the knife or scaffold. To strike the royalists with fear, and thus to convince the emigrant and the foreigner how vain was all attempt to restore the king to his throne by reactionary armies, was their endeavour; and how they succeeded is now known too well. The memories of the hideous massacres of September can never pass away. Then came the political convention, and the triumph of Robespierre, and of the desperate men who supported him. This effectually destroyed all hopes of passing any moderate measures, and was the death-blow of the party of the Gironde. They had used their strength in an unprofitable struggle, and had only embittered and strengthened their enemies. The more violent party out of doors now only became more violent, and more clamorous in their demands for the trial and punishment of the deposed king.

The debate on the liability of the king to be tried, or of his personal inviolability, was long, and was frequently adjourned. France never had such a thing to do before. Altogether, the convention had its work; for, in addition, it was to consider the question of the recomposition of the armies, which the Jacobins aimed at filling entirely with men of their own faction; and it also undertook to regulate the commerce of provisions, and other necessary articles. On the 11th of December the trial of the king commenced. The royal family breakfasted together, as usual, in the Temple; but, after breakfast, the guards removed all but the king, who remained alone till near noon, when the mayor of Paris and the *procureur* of the commune arrived, and communicated to the prisoner the decree by which he was summoned to the bar of the convention, under the name of Louis Capet. Louis made a slight objection to the name, and then rose and accompanied the mayor to his carriage. In the midst of perfect silence, the king, with the mayor and Santerre, and Wittengoff at his side, entered the hall, and advanced to the bar; while the dignity of his manner, and the calmness of his countenance, combined with the knowledge of his misfortunes, touched the hearts of all the spectators, and even Marat, Robespierre, and St. Just, are said to have felt for a moment unnerved. At the bidding of the president, Louis seated himself, and listened to the act of accusation, in which all the faults of the Court were enumerated, and laid to his sole charge. Counsel was allowed him. Of the two men whom he had chosen for his defenders, Target refused the task. Meanwhile the venerable Malesherbes volun-

teered his services, which were accepted. The number of documents which it was necessary to examine for the king was so great, that the convention, fully aware that Malesherbes and Tronchet could not execute their task in time, gave them an assistant in the person of the young advocate Desèze. They pleaded eloquently on behalf of the illustrious prisoner. The discussion lasted till the 7th of January, 1793, when it was closed; and the 14th was fixed as the day for the final decision. The excitement on that day was very great, and the convention was surrounded by an unusual number of spectators. At eight in the evening the call of votes began, and it lasted till the same hour of the evening of the following day. The sentence of the majority was for death. On the 20th, it was decided, by a majority of 380 votes against 310, that the sentence against Louis Capet should be executed without delay.

The 21st of January saw Louis die on the guillotine, in the Place de la Revolution, with the courage of a martyr, and the resignation of a saint. The king stepped firmly from the carriage, and mounted the scaffold, when three executioners presented themselves to undress him, but he refused their assistance. At first he was unwilling to submit to the indignity of having his hands bound; but, at the exhortation of the Abbé Edgeworth, he complied. Just as they were leading him to the fatal machine, he suddenly stepped forth, exclaiming—"Frenchmen! I die innocent of the crimes imputed to me. I pardon the authors of my death, and I pray that my blood may not fall upon France." Immediately the drums began beating, and all further speech was stopped. When the executioners had performed their task, some of the *canaille* dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victim, and paraded the streets, shouting furiously, "*Vive la Republique!*" "*Vive la Nation!*" The death of Louis sent a thrill of horror all through Europe. The English government had been alarmed at the decree passed by the convention on the 10th of November, which was considered a direct provocation to insurrection in foreign countries; and at the favour which had been shown to the representatives of sympathetic societies at home. Orders were immediately issued, and great exertions were made, to increase the force of the British navy; and other measures showed that England contemplated the idea of being drawn into the war. As soon as the news of the execution of Louis reached London, the French ambassador was ordered to quit England within eight days. France and England act and react on each other; and in England, as in all countries, there was, at first, a popular feeling in favour of the revolution, which even the excesses of its leaders did not destroy; but the execution of Louis had strengthened the hands of the reactionary party at home. It for ever separated Burke the philosopher, and Fox, the orator of the liberal politicians of that time. It at once threw back progress; and the ignorant mob, as at Birmingham, outraged law and order in the name of church and king. Mr. Burke published his celebrated work on the French revolution; to which Tom Paine replied, in his *Rights of Man*. Mr. Pitt ceased to be a reformer; and, instead, issued proclamations against seditious intrigues; instituted trials for high treason; and established a system of espionage, which was long the disgrace and terror of the land. The nation was, on the sudden, struck with alarm at the idea of political innovation of any kind; and the very name of reform became the subject of violent and indiscriminate reprobation. The press teemed with inflammatory productions; and the pulpit rang with anathemas against republicans and levellers. An association was formed in London, for the protection of property, liberty, and religion; and an innumerable multitude of pamphlets, in the popular form of letters, dialogues, and narratives, admirably fitted to inflame the passions, were by this means circulated through the length and breadth of the land, inculcating "the right divine of kings to govern wrong."

The rage of associating spread rapidly; and in every county, and in almost every town, resolutions were subscribed, savouring of loyalty and attachment to the powers that be; and thus, under the dangerous stimulus of fear and passion, the



nation was hurried into a destructive war. The Mountain party had now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of two councils, one of which was denominated the "Committee of Public Safety;" the other, the "Committee of General Safety." The prevailing faction now proceeded to atrocities unparalleled in history. The external profession of the Christian religion was abolished by decree, and a kind of metaphysical paganism was substituted in its place. Ecclesiastics publicly abjured their creed. The archbishop and clergy of Paris declared that they had no god but liberty, and no gospel but the constitution. The revolutionary tribunals condemned, without distinction and inquiry, all whom their masters marked out for death. It was never known how many persons perished in this reign of terror. The most distinguished victim was the ill-fated queen, Marie Antoinette. On the 1st of August, 1794, she was suddenly removed from the prison of the Conciergerie, where she had been treated as the meanest criminal; and, on the 15th of October, she appeared before the tribunal, to take her trial—or, to speak more correctly, to hear her doom. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the principal of which stated, that she had directed her views to a counter-revolution. One of the most singular of them was, that she, in conjunction with the Girondists, induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every principle of sound policy and the public welfare. Another charge was so gross as to be incredible. The bloodthirsty and besotted audience misunderstood her heroic silence, and the president called upon her for an answer. She then said—"I held my peace because Nature forbids a mother to reply to such a charge; but since I am compelled to it, I appeal to all the mothers who hear me, whether it be possible." Not one of the charges was proved; but, after consulting about an hour, the jury found her guilty of the whole. With an unchanged countenance she heard the sentence of death pronounced, and left the hall without addressing her judge or the audience. How could she wish longer to live? Life had lost all its charms for her. On the succeeding day she was taken to execution, in the same manner as the other victims of this terrible tribunal. She ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step; and her behaviour, at the awful moment of dissolution, was decent and composed. Her body, like that of her husband, was interred in a grave filled with quick-lime.

Indignant monarchical Europe looked on, preparing to take its revenge. This, however, was found to be no easy matter. Frenchmen who had shaken off the bitter yoke of ages were not lightly to be made to wear their chains again. Had the institutions of monarchical Europe been just, and for the benefit of the masses, kings and rulers need not have trembled: but, alas! wherever the weary and the oppressed lived, and toiled, and moiled, there were those who hailed the French revolution as a gospel of peace and good tidings to such as they. France called on her sons to arm and defend her sacred soil from the foot of the invader; and right nobly did her poor, and ill-clad, and half-starved sons respond to the call. All Frenchmen were now declared, by a solemn decree of the convention, to be at the service of their country till her enemies should be chased from her territory. To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be raised from all quarters, measures of a new and extraordinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated and expended, but when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. All the necessaries of life appertaining to men in easy circumstances, were seized upon in the name of the republic, and for the support of its troops. Great cities were crowded with manufactures of saltpetre; towns were converted into garrisons; ancient palaces became arsenals. At the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising *en masse* was ridiculed throughout Europe, the convention, on the proposition of the Committee of Public Safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, to form a chain around the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males, from eighteen to forty years of age, were put in permanent

requisition, and a draught of 300,000 made at one time. All round war was carried on. For a time fortune was, as usual, fickle. The allies—under the leadership of the Duke of Brunswick; Mack, the Austrian general; our own Duke of York—on the whole, however, had the worst of it. They suffered from national jealousies and divided councils. The immense armies of France had, on the contrary, but one heart and mind.

On the sea, however, the meteor flag of England was a symbol of victory. Yet we were unable to keep possession of Toulon, which had been delivered up to the British admiral, Lord Hood (who then commanded in the Mediterranean), in trust for Louis XVII. In the subsequent siege, which ended in its evacuation by the British, first distinguished himself, Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, then a subaltern in the artillery; but soon to be, for many years to come, the glory of France and the terror of Europe. On the 1st of June, 1793, Earl Howe won a glorious victory over the French fleet, commanded by Admiral Villaret Joyeuse. The fight lasted only an hour, but it was unusually fatal and severe. Two eighty, and five seventy-four-gun ships were the prizes of the victors. The slaughter on board the French fleet was so great, that, in the captured ships alone, it amounted to 1,270. The British total loss was 904. The French colonies in the West Indies fell an easy prey to our forces, under Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis.

In France, at this time (1794), a new faction arose—the Cordeliers; at the head of which were Hebert, Anarcharis Cloots, and others, who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories; decried all religion; preached equality to the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an agrarian law. In the beginning of March, the table of the rights of man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This, of course, aroused the jealousy of Robespierre, and Hebert and his followers were condemned to the guillotine. The Princess Elizabeth, sister to Louis XVI., was charged with having conspired to restore royalty. Her accusers required no proof of her crime. With twenty-four of her reputed accomplices she was condemned to death.

At this time, also, a new religion was devised for France. Robespierre had never approved of Cloots' and Chaumette's religion of reason, otherwise atheism; and he undertook to be the teacher of a new and better creed. At his instigation, a decree was adopted by the convention, declaring—1. That the French people acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul; and, 2. That the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being was the practice of the duties of man. Other articles of this decree ordained the establishment of festivals calculated to remind men of God and their duties. The *décadis*, or tenth days, were dedicated through the year to various virtues and qualities, in place of the old popish system of saint-worship. These festive days had for their objects, successively, the Supreme Being, the human race, the French people, the benefactors of humanity, the martyrs of liberty and equality, the republic, the liberty of the world, the love of country, hatred of tyrants and traitors, truth, justice, modesty, glory, friendship, frugality, courage, good faith, heroism, disinterestedness, stoicism, love, conjugal faith, paternal love, motherly tenderness, filial piety, infancy, youth, virile age, old age, misfortune, agriculture, industry, our forefathers, posterity, happiness. France was grateful that the convention allowed her to believe in a God, and rejoiced accordingly. Yet all the while "Terror" reigned, and was kept up by a frightful destruction of human life.

Let us give an illustration. The city of Nantes, in the district where the royalist war of the Vendée had, for a time, been bravely carried on, was given up to the mad vengeance of a young member of the convention, named Carrier, who began by declaring that he had come to exterminate the whole population; and he caused those of the late insurgents who had submitted on the promise of safety for their persons, to be carried out and shot, in parties of 100 and 200 at a time.



There already existed a popular club in the town, which filled the place with terror; but Carrier, who presented himself before this club with his sword drawn, and uttering coarse imprecations, soon found it too lenient, and dissolved it. He employed troops of ruffians to visit the country round, where they plundered the houses of the royalists, whom they swept away in multitudes, and committed all sorts of atrocities. He formed a revolutionary tribunal for the hasty trial of the prisoners, by which the Vendean were condemned to be shot, and the people of Nantes, accused of royalism, to be guillotined. Great numbers of children of the Vendean insurgents had found protection among the families in Nantes, and this inhuman monster caused them all to be imprisoned; and it is said, that, by his orders, no less than 500 children, under fourteen years of age, of both sexes, were, with musketry and grape, shot in one day. On another occasion, nearly a hundred women were similarly destroyed; and their naked bodies, left decomposing in the air, produced disease amongst the living. Carrier soon hit on a still more rapid mode of extermination. The river Loire runs through Nantes; and on it he embarked, under pretence of transporting them, seventy priests in a boat, which was sunk at a short distance from town. This drowning process saved so much time and trouble, that it was repeated many times on a still grander scale. Men, armed with axes and sabres, were stationed round to kill all who might escape by swimming. The new invention was soon improved upon, and boats were made for the purpose, which were placed in the middle of the river. The prisoners were conducted to them in a barge, and were forced into the holds of these boats, some of them tied two-and-two together. When the boats were thus filled, planks were nailed down over the entrance, and the boats then immediately scuttled and sunk. In this manner hardly less than 5,000 individuals, of all ages and both sexes, perished. The poor victims met with the most indecent treatment. Sometimes a party of the prisoners, consisting of men and women of different ages, belonging to the most respectable families in Nantes, were stripped quite naked, tied together in couples—a male with a female—and, after being exposed for some time in this manner to the insults of the mob, thrown into the river and drowned. These horrible exhibitions were called, in joke, republican marriages.

In times of intense excitement such as those of which we write, the popular mania is sure, in some minds, to take a religious turn. With the women of the revolution, the name of Robespierre was an object of adoration. Amongst them a religious sect had arisen, who had for their leader an old woman named Catherine Théot, whose mind had become deranged by a long imprisonment in the Bastille: she believed herself to be the mother of God; and announced the approaching advent of the Messiah. This event was to be prepared by two prophets, one of whom was an ecclesiastic, named Gerle, as mad as herself; and the other was Robespierre, who was talked of, in her circle, as the favourite child of the mother of God. Out of these absurdities grew an ill-feeling towards Robespierre, which in time was to undermine his power. Already individuals had attempted, towards Robespierre, to do what Charlotte Cordey had done to Marat. In May, two attempts had been made upon his life. Robespierre's vanity in consequence became inordinate; and, as we might expect, the jealousy of his colleagues was aroused. As president at the celebration of the festival of the Supreme Being, on the 8th of June, his elation was beyond belief. When, at length, he presented himself, he was dressed with extraordinary care: his head was covered with flowing feathers, and his sallow countenance lit up with unusual joy. An amphitheatre had been formed in the garden of the Tuileries, which was occupied by the convention: to the right and left of which, were groups representing the different ages and sexes of the people; and, in front, were raised three large images, representing Atheism, Discord, and Egotism. The ceremony opened with music; and then Robespierre, as president, made a short address on the object of the festival: at the close of which he seized a torch, and set fire to the three figures in front of the amphitheatre. As Atheism, Discord, and Egotism

dropped into ashes, the statue of Wisdom appeared standing out of the flames; but it was remarked that it was all black with smoke. Robespierre returned to his place, and pronounced a second discourse on the vices which were in league against the republic. The convention and the populace then went in procession to the Champ de Mars; and, in their progress, Robespierre's pride seems entirely to have got the mastery over him. He walked in advance of his colleagues; and, to their intense indignation, gave himself airs of superior importance. Next day the Committee of Public Safety presented rather a violent scene. Robespierre complained bitterly of the treatment he had received, and demanded speedier justice—in reality, more blood. To show the increased activity of “justice” at this period, it may be mentioned, that, from the commencement of the tribunal in March, 1793, to the month of June, 1794—that is, during about fifteen months—it had condemned 577 individuals; while only during six weeks, forming the second period—that is, from the 10th of June to the 27th of July, 1794—1,285 victims were sent to the guillotine. It was now a struggle of life between Robespierre and his foes. It was felt, that if they could not crush him, he could and would crush them.

At length the storm burst. Men had leagued together against the intolerable terror of Robespierre's power. Towards the end of July, he and his doings had been, in the convention, the subject of unusually fierce debate. The night of the 26th of July passed in plot and counter-plot. On the morrow every one felt that the decisive hour had arrived. In vain Robespierre essayed to speak. Cries of “Down with the tyrant!—down with the tyrant!” resounded on all sides of the hall. Tallien, amidst tumultuous applause, exhibited the poniard with which he was prepared to take Robespierre's life, if the convention lacked the courage to decree his accusation. After many exciting harangues the motion for his accusation was carried. Robespierre had, during this time, moved backward and forward between his place and the tribune; but now he again approached the president, and demanded a hearing. He looked first to the Mountain for sympathy; but, finding none there, turned to the Plain, and appealed to them. “It is to you,” he said, “men of purity and virtue, that I appeal; and not to brigands.” But all was in vain; and, turning again to the president, he exclaimed—“For the last time, president of assassins, I demand a hearing.” His voice became thick, and almost stifled with rage. “It is the blood of Danton which is choking you,” cried one deputy. Said another—“President, is that man much longer to be master of the assembly?” “Ah!” cried another, “how hard a tyrant is to throw down.” Exclamations of “Vote! vote!” were now heard; and, in the midst of a great tumult, the arrest of Robespierre was decreed amidst shouts of “*Vive la Liberté!*” “*Vive la République!*” “The tyrants are no more!” A second decree ordered the arrest of St. Just and Couthon, and Lebas and Robespierre the younger were added, of their own accord. The scene was altogether so new and extraordinary, and the terror inspired by the triumvirs was still so great, that none of the officers of the convention dared approach them, to lead them to the bar; and it was only after repeated calls from the assembly that the five accused persons left their seats to proceed thither, from whence they were conducted to the committees, to undergo an examination prior to their being sent to prison. Robespierre was absolutely furious; but St. Just retained his ordinary look of calmness and disdain. The others were dejected, as they anticipated their speedy doom. The convention, overcome with fatigue, adjourned their sittings. Meanwhile, out of doors an armed insurrection raged; and when the convention assembled an hour or two afterwards, they found that their prisoners had been rescued, and carried in triumph to the mayoralty; and that they themselves were being rapidly put in a state of siege. Collet d'Herbois immediately placed himself in the presidential chair, which, by its position in the hall, must have been struck with the first discharge of artillery, and said—“Representatives, now is the moment to die at our posts.” Immediately the deputies took their seats; and at length,



convinced that they were on the point of being massacred, passed a decree of outlawry against Herriot. This decree was directly placed outside the walls of the convention, where Herriot was at that moment endeavouring to persuade the cannoniers to fire. The deputies shouted—"Cannoniers! will you obey that brigand?—that man is an outlaw." The effect of this announcement was instantaneous; the cannoniers refused to fire, and the convention was saved.

Inspired by success, the convention now assumed the offensive. Robespierre and his friends were at the Hôtel-de-Ville: thither the troops repaired. Despair seized on the inmates: Lebas drew out a pistol, and shot himself; the younger Robespierre jumped out of the window; St. Just alone remained calm. Robespierre, after some hesitation, summoned up courage to shoot himself; but, in his agitation, he only inflicted a wound on his cheek. The soldiers now broke open the door, and arrested the prisoners, who were ultimately conveyed to the hall of the Committee of Public Safety, where Robespierre was laid upon a table, dressed in the same blue coat which he had worn at the feast of the Supreme Being, with nankeen breeches and white stockings, the latter of which, in the confusion, having fallen, reached his heels. He remained in this condition unmoved, the blood flowing down his cheek. A surgeon was sent for; Robespierre was placed in a chair, and remained unmoved while his wound was dressed. He was afterwards conveyed, with his companions, to the Conciergerie. As they had all been outlawed by the convention, there was no necessity for subjecting them to a trial. The next morning they were brought before the revolutionary tribunal, merely to establish their identity; and were carried to execution the same afternoon. An immense crowd followed them, shouting dreadful exclamations, and manifesting the utmost joy at their downfall. Robespierre remained sullen and unmoved to the last.

All over France a change came sudden as the lightning's flash. The prison doors were burst; fear gave place to hope, and mourning to joy. From garrets and cellars where they had long lain hidden, men came forth, as the world's grey fathers might have done after the Deluge had passed away. For two or three days the convention was occupied, almost entirely, with addresses of congratulation on their triumph, which, it was said, had saved the republic. The revolutionary tribunal was suspended. Decrees of accusation were passed against Fouquier Tinville, the iniquitous public accuser; Lebon, one of the most sanguinary of the commissioners sent into the provinces under the influence of Robespierre; David; Héron, the chief of Robespierre's police; General Rossignol, and Hermann, another of Robespierre's tyrannical agents. These proceedings gave more confidence to the public. The work of restoration and reorganisation went on apace. The danger of leaving the whole power of the state in the hands of one committee was now generally felt; and the government was entrusted to sixteen separate and independent committees. These were—1. The Committee of Public Safety. 2. The Committee of General Surety. 3. The Committee of Finances. 4. The Committee of Legislation. 5. The Committee of Public Instruction. 6. The Committee of Agriculture and the Arts. 7. The Committee of Commerce and Victualling. 8. The Committee of Public Works. 9. The Committee of Transport by Post. 10. The Military Committee. 11. The Committee of the Marine and Colonies. 12. The Committee of Public Relief. 13. The Committee of Division. 14. The Committee of *Procès Verbaux* and Archives. 15. The Committee of Petitions, Correspondence, and Despatches. 16. The Committee of Inspectors of the National Palaces.

Of these, the Committee of Public Safety was composed of twelve members, and was charged with the superior direction of the military operations and diplomatic relations. The Committee of Public Surety, consisting of sixteen members, had the direction of the police. The functions of the other committees are sufficiently indicated by their names. Numerous changes were also made in all the subordinate departments of the public service. The number of revolutionary committees which had been distributed over the whole country, was greatly diminished; the powers

of those which remained were placed under limits, and their more violent members expelled. The assemblies of the sections in Paris were only allowed to be held once every *décadi*; and the practice of paying the lower orders for their attendance was abolished. All the municipalities and local bodies were, like the revolutionary committees, purged of the agents and partisans of the reign of terror. The revolutionary tribunal was restored to its functions, but in a much milder form, and under the direction of men who were not likely to abuse its powers. Finally, the liberty of the press was decreed.

Once more, also, in Paris began the reign of the *salon*. People lived no longer in solitude—dirty, suspicious, repulsive, and ill-dressed. It was not now considered high treason to be a gentleman, to wear a clean shirt, and be pleasant to one's neighbour. The parties given by Madame Tallien were the most splendid and the most frequented; and she did all that a woman could do to soften down the harshness of revolutionary manners. In many fashionable *réunions*, the young man who had signalised himself by his exploits against the Jacobins, was sure to be marked out for special favour. Towards the end of November the club of the Jacobins was suppressed. Some of its members joined the electoral club which had been driven from the *Evéché*; but the greater part, and the more violent, took refuge among the ultra-revolutionists of the Faubourg St. Antoine, where they continued to hold seditious meetings; to which the committees of the government, feeling their own strength, thought it most dignified to pay no regard. The sections of Paris, taking courage from the overthrow of the great popular club, and expelling from their ranks the declared Jacobins who still remained with them, sent congratulatory addresses to the assembly. Meanwhile the clamour for punishment against the terrorists increased, and it was found impossible to resist it. Among those who were especially marked out for vengeance by the public voice, were Lebon and David; Maignet, who had barbarously treated the town of Bédouin; Fouquier Tinville; Bouchotte, the ex-minister of war; and the three revolutionary chiefs, Billaud Varennes, Collet d'Herbois, and Barrère. These three latter were at length placed under accusation; and the infamous Carrier made some atonement to society for his misdeeds, by perishing, with his accomplices, on the guillotine.

Whilst these events were taking place, the armies of France had been remarkably successful. The defeat of the Prince of Coburg by Jourdain, and the capture of Ypres and Charleroi, had placed Belgium at the mercy of the French. Pichegru had driven back the Duke of York; and the flag of the republic was at length extended to the Rhine. On the frontier of the Alps, a plan had been proposed by General Bonaparte, and adopted, for recruiting the two armies of the Alps and Italy for the invasion of Piedmont; but the design was delayed by the events which led to the fall of Robespierre. In Holland the French were received with open arms; and our allies, such as Prussia, were already weary of the contest, and willing to make peace. In one corner of France the Bretons still struggled for the ancient constitution, the old laws, and the royal family of France. Assisted by England, hitherto the republic had been unable to crush them. In 1795 they were compelled to succumb. In the middle of June in that year, it was attempted, by the French royalists in England, to assist the Chouans, and take possession of the peninsula of Quiberon, which would serve them as a strong position from whence to threaten St. Malo, Brest, or L'Orient. Valuable time was lost; while the Bretons showed far less disposition to take up arms than was expected. Hoche displayed the utmost activity in his preparations for resistance. The attempt was a failure. If it had not been for the English fleet, under Admiral Warren, all would have perished: and thus ended this unfortunate expedition, which, perhaps, might have been successful had the royalists been united, and had one of the princes of the blood the courage to place himself at its head.

Insurrections still continued in Paris. As a defender of order, Bonaparte



appears upon the scene. A certain number of the sections, with that of Lepelletier at their head, proclaimed themselves in a state of insurrection, and called the citizens to arms. The defence of the convention was entrusted to Barras, who chose for his second in command the young Napoleon, who was then in Paris. His arrangements were skilfully made. Hostilities began on the side of the Rue St. Honore, which was at that time filled with the insurgents. They had taken possession of the steps of the church of St. Roch, when Bonaparte advanced his cannons, and soon dislodged them with grapeshot. In like manner he speedily cleared the Rue St. Honore. In a little while the assailants were beaten from the other posts. After a desperate struggle the tranquillity of the capital was entirely restored; and as the sections submitted without further resistance, the victorious party acted with great leniency. Barras was made commander-in-chief of the army of the interior, with Bonaparte for his second in command.

In October, 1795, the celebrated national convention of republican France ceased. It celebrated its last sitting by abolishing the punishment of death in the French republic. This was followed by a decree of general amnesty of political offenders: and then the Directory was formed. One of the first things done by the new government was the establishment of a military force, for its own protection and that of the legislative bodies, which was organised under the direction of Bonaparte, and which was sufficient to prevent a repetition of the popular tumults which had so often disturbed the peace of the capital.

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## CHAPTER III.

### IRELAND.

LET us now return to English affairs. The condition of England was at this time peculiarly critical. Some of her allies had joined the enemy, and the others had proved unequal to resist him. In India, the most powerful of the native princes were preparing to subvert her authority; and England herself contained a strong party, who saw in the French revolution, in spite of its excesses, a gain for the freedom of humanity, and who were not slow to express their opinions. In these times all men think so. At that time, when the land was ruled by ignorant Tory squires, and church-and-king mobs paraded the country, it was a matter of some peril, and certainly ensured worldly loss, to be of such a way of thinking.

Ireland then, as now, was England's weak point. That island was in a state of revolt; and certainly had every reason to be so. Man was not made for political institutions, but political institutions were made for man; and, in Ireland, the political and religious institutions of the governing few were cordially abhorred by the governed many. It was right such should be the case. When man ceases to protest against wrong, his manhood has passed away, and he is a slave. Well has one of Scotland's purest poets written—

" 'Tis manhood makes the man  
A high-souled freeman or a fettered slave;  
The mind a temple fit for God to span,  
Or a dark dungeon grave."

We must go back a few years. In 1777, Britain was engaged in the American war. Despotie France, entering into alliance with America, sent her soldiers to fight the battle of republicanism. England, in want of troops, withdrew her garrisons from Ireland, in order to transport them over the Atlantic. Ireland then was left defenceless in case of a French invasion. England gave her to understand

that she must protect herself. The Irish flew to arms. In a short time, a great national force, self-raised, self-armed, and self-equipped, stood forward to meet the expected foe. The Irish volunteers were acknowledged by the legislature as "the saviour of their country." In order to become a volunteer, certain outlays, requiring considerable means, were required; hence the volunteer ranks consisted of the best men in the land. In this national band, church of England Protestants, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics stood side by side. Under the old penal code, then in almost full force, persons of the latter persuasion could not legally bear arms. In some instances, in the north, their offers of service were coldly or offensively repulsed. The force thus raised, as it had no enemy to contend with, became political. They found the legislature and the trade of their country grievously restricted: they demanded freedom for both. England, too weak to refuse, granted the request. Having thus secured the independence of their legislative body, next came up the question of its construction. A meeting of the representatives of all the corps of volunteers in Ireland was held in Dublin, to petition for reform in parliament. The prayer was rejected with disdain. A war of words ensued. The legislators were termed corrupt and odious. The petitioners, in turn, were pronounced disloyal, and classed with French anarchists. Perhaps both parties were right. Lord Cloncurry tells us, at that time the Irish legislature consisted of a House of Lords, of which fifty-three peers nominated 123 members of the other House. Of that assembly, consisting of 300, only one-third were fair representatives. Corruption, in such a constituted assembly, was sure to exist. An attorney-general asserted, that a single vote of address to Lord Townshend, had cost the Irish nation half a million of money. On one occasion Lord Strangford gave an independent vote. It cost his lordship £400 a year. "The concession," writes Lord Cloncurry, "of the forty-shilling franchise to the Catholics, had the immediate effect of stimulating, to an extraordinary degree, the progress of parliamentary corruption. A new trade sprung up in the country. Men speculated on the multiplication of forty-shilling freeholders as they ought to have done in the breeding of sheep. The minister opened the national purse wider and wider, and the Protestant squires strove for its contents, each backed by as large a band of servile voters as it was possible for his lands to maintain. In the prosecution of such a slave traffic the productive powers of the potato afforded invaluable aid. By the use of no other species of food could so large a number of human beings be raised upon so small an area of soil. This was the consummation to be desired when every adult reared was a unit in the price of a peerage or a baronetcy, or equally available towards the purchase of the more substantial benefits of a well-endowed sinecure." It is clear, then, that the friends of order were corrupt; and it is equally clear that republican principles had spread amongst the reforming party, whose ranks, having been deserted by many, now came to be known in history as "United Irishmen"—a title adopted in 1792. The declared objects of all were a full reform in parliament, and an entire emancipation of Roman Catholics. "It can scarce be doubted," writes Mr. Banim, in his introduction to the *Croppy*, "that their leaders contemplated, even in the outset, a separation from England. Many of them were republicans in principle. Late treatises serve to show that their alleged objects were advanced but as a false flag, under which to marshal the timid or wavering of their own sect; or, if possible, the neutral Catholics, who then formed three-fourths of the population of Ireland. As republican France triumphed, her friends in Ireland became more defiant in outward act, in eloquent speech, or defiant song."

The crisis came. Under the very eye of "the castle," appeared in Dublin an armed band, styling themselves, in almost republican phrase, Irish National Guards. They wore the national colour, green: their standard was a harp, without a crown. Upon a particular day they were to muster, as if to show their strength. The Lord-Lieutenant issued his proclamation against such a meeting: he invoked the aid of the garrison of Dublin, and no review took place. A



previous identity between this band and the United Irish clubs is not proved; but such identification seems to have soon taken place. Against the Lord-Lieutenant's proclamation the Dublin club issued a counter-proclamation, approving and encouraging the national guards. The secretary who signed the paper was convicted of sedition. After the publication of another philippic against government, a meeting of the United Irish of Dublin was dismissed by the sheriff, as persons holding seditious and republican views. Thus, in 1794, terminated the legal existence of the last of the volunteers of 1782.

However, the spirit existed; and, in 1797, the Roman Catholic force in Ireland became revolutionary.

The Roman Catholics had contentedly admitted or acquiesced in their political and social inferiority till the uprising of the national voice in Ireland, in 1782, by the old volunteers. After that year they became bolder, and began to petition the legislature for relief. Although it was indignantly rejected, still, nearly at the same time, government introduced a bill repealing some of the most odious of the penal statutes. Their junction with the reformers was apprehended; and it was thought advisable, if possible, to keep them quiet.

The Protestant ascendancy party took the alarm. That party, which had made good government in Ireland almost an impossibility, was up in arms. At city and county meetings, convened by sheriffs at grand jury sittings and corporation meetings and guilds, not only were manifestos against Catholic freedom agreed to, but the tenets of Roman Catholics were abused as well. To the astonishment of their masters the Catholics rejoined. "Ascendancy" rejoinders followed, in which some individuals connected with government took a part. The Catholics saw that they could expect no favour from the party in power. Still, however, they remained unconnected, as a body, with the United Irishmen; and, in 1793, carried their grievances to the very foot of the throne. Some additional concessions were made. The ascendancy men became angrier and more determined. They declared no further concessions could be made. They took their stand upon finality, and then the Catholics joined the ranks of the reformers.

In 1795, Earl Fitzwilliam became chief governor of Ireland, upon the understanding, that while going certain lengths to satisfy the Protestant political reformers, he was to grant complete relief to the Catholics: they were allowed to believe that now, indeed, the day of grace was at hand. But as soon as the Irish parliament had voted the war supplies, Lord Fitzwilliam received a summons to return to England. The Catholic leaders were in despair, and felt, more than ever, that their resource was to join the Protestant liberal party.

The previous policy of the United Irish clubs must have produced, to a certain extent, this final result. Their very name was an invitation to the Catholics to join them. Catholic leaders were invited to Belfast, to witness a display of Protestant liberality towards them. The following year their deputations to the king were induced to make Belfast their route to England; and the Protestant population of that town drew them in their carriages through the streets.

In 1795, a new element of disturbance was introduced. For many years, the county of Armagh had been the arena of a petty though cruel warfare. Under the title of Peep-o'-day Boys, the lower order of Protestants scoured, in bands, the Catholic districts, and, sanctioned by the penal laws, appropriated all descriptions of Catholic fire-arms. Nor was this search conducted in the most peaceable manner. It was too often accompanied by insult and outrage of every kind. The Catholics combined, under the title of Defenders, and spread, as we might naturally expect, from one county to another.

Defenderism soon diverged from its original character. In a rough way, it sought the redress of real grievances. One band opposed the payment of tithes; others the militia ballot; and, in 1795, they proceeded to open insurrection; but were dealt with in a summary manner. Without trial, military commanders sent

hundreds of them to the fleets. About 1,400 were thus disposed of; and an Indemnity Bill soon screened the law-breakers. But the Irish peasant felt that he was dealt with cruelly, as well as illegally; and he was eager for revenge. The soldiery had been let loose among the people. To such an extent was their disorderly violence carried, that the veteran Abercrombie, after a tour of inspection, subsequently described them as in "a state of licentiousness, which must render them formidable to every one but the enemy." The peasant of the south of Ireland was, consequently, eager and ready to injure those who had injured him; and when agents of the United Irish conspiracy found it convenient to make the parish Defender a national revolutionist, he rushed madly into the field, rejoicing in any cause that offered an opportunity for retaliation, and but too well prepared by the example set before him to brutalise even civil war. Thus was brought about the rising of the Irish in revolt against British rule in 1798. But we have not yet described all the incentives to wild efforts of hate, and revenge, and despair.

Many of the Defenders of 1795 had been executed, according to the usual process. The Peep-o'-day Boys, deeming themselves strong in the support of government, with fresh zeal as Orangemen, reopened the campaign against their fellow-countrymen: they resolved to drive away from Ulster all the Catholics. Upon the dwellings of such they posted the following notice:—"To hell or Connaught, you — Papist! If you are not gone by — [a day specified], we will come back and reckon with you. We hate all Papists here." And they kept their word, these mild professors of Protestant faith! If the command was not obeyed, they returned—burnt the house or cabin of the disobedient party, and compelled him and his family to fly. Thus were hundreds driven from their homes, to spread among millions of their excitable co-religionists the story of their wrongs. What wonder that the idea was cherished, in many quarters, that French aid would end this intolerable state of suffering; and, by driving the Orangeman from the soil he cursed with his presence, set Ireland free. Emissaries were sent to France, who represented that nothing was wanting to secure the independence of Ireland but a regular army for a rallying-point; and France, hoping to give a fatal blow to her most formidable enemy, and to gain a valuable province for herself, readily promised the aid required; and, at the earliest opportunity, prepared to keep her word.

The auxiliary force which the Irish delegates deemed sufficient was 15,000 men; but an army of at least 18,000 was provided, commanded by General Hoche. The armament put to sea, and it arrived in Bantry Bay. There, however, it came to grief, without meeting any of the British fleet, which was on the look-out for it. The elements were on our side; and when the French fleet arrived at its destined port, half the ships were blown out to sea again before they could anchor, and the rest were driven from their anchors ere they could land any troops. In this expedition the French lost three ships of the line and three frigates by stress of weather: but they had the good fortune to escape Lord Bridport and Admiral Colpoys; the former of whom, with a British fleet under his command, arrived in Bantry Bay immediately after the departure of the enemy.

Ireland remained rebellious, nevertheless: in all parts the standard of revolt was raised. Its most brilliant leader, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was captured, and died; but others succeeded in his place. At length, the insurgent chiefs, Fitzgerald and Byrne, surrendered to Generals Dundas and Moore. The insurrection was finally extinguished, and the work of trial and execution commenced. In the town of Wexford alone no fewer than sixty-five persons were executed. Ultimately the government listened to the promptings of mercy, and an act of amnesty was passed. Again the French essayed to help the insurrection; but by the time they arrived, all chance of resistance was in vain. An expedition, under General Humbert, consisting of about 1,100 men, embarked from Rochelle; and landing, in August, in the Bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, took up their head-quarters at the bishop's palace. Few of the peasantry could be got to join the invaders. Having left a



small garrison there to keep up the communication and receive supplies, General Humbert marched towards Castlebar, experiencing no obstacle on his route. The army collected there, under General Lake, was put to flight; the loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, was 200; that of the British being considerably more. Proceeding further, the French were met by Lord Cornwallis, to whose superior force they capitulated. The little army landed at Killala had been intended, it appears, only as a vanguard to a much superior force. Another attempt of the French to revive a lost cause was equally unsuccessful. A squadron from Brest, consisting of one ship of the line, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, with a strong reinforcement intended to co-operate with the force under General Humbert in Ireland, was fallen-in with, by Sir John Borlase Warren, off the north-west coast of that country. Confident in their own strength, the French squadron bore down and formed a line of battle in close order, on which an action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, when the enemy's three-decker, the *Hoche*, and three of the frigates, hauled down their colours, after a gallant resistance. Five of the frigates, the schooner, and the brig escaped; but three of the former were afterwards captured. The whole of the squadron was, it appears, entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every other equipment for the support and establishment of the invading force in Ireland. Amongst the prisoners taken in the *Hoche*, was Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen, long considered as the most able and active negotiator among the Irish fugitives in Paris, and as adviser of most of the revolutionary measures of his countrymen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland than he was conveyed to Dublin, and put upon his trial by a court-martial, before which he defended himself with considerable ability and firmness, not attempting to palliate or deny his offence. The plea on which he rested was that of being a citizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic; and when he found that this defence was unavailing, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon. The court, however, did not think it proper to accede to his request; and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignominy that awaited him, by cutting his throat in prison. The wound was, at first, not thought to be mortal, but after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence. Holt, the last of the rebel chiefs, obtained the boon of his forfeited life by exiling himself for ever from his native country.

Thus ended the Irish insurrection, in which, it is estimated, not less than 30,000 lives were lost, and property sacrificed to an amount of which it is difficult to form an idea. Some clue to it, however, may be found in the conflagrations that took place in different towns, and from the amount of compensation claimed from one class of sufferers. The towns of Carnew, Tinehely, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Killedmard, were all destroyed by fire. At Ross, about 300 houses, chiefly those of the humbler classes, were consumed; the greater part of Ennis-corthy was laid in ashes; and in the open country, a vast number of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats were destroyed. By a message delivered to the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, it was proposed to afford compensation to the suffering loyalists, on their claims being verified before the commissioners; and an act of parliament soon after passed, under which the claims of loyalists amounted to upwards of £1,000,000—a sum of great magnitude in those days; but, it is supposed, not equal to more than one-third of the actual property destroyed by a rebellion in support of which it is believed that there were, at one time, no less than 70,000 men in arms. Ireland was quiet for a time, and its truest friends had to wait a more convenient season. The Union Act, which took place in 1800, did much to mend matters. The union was rather an expensive act. O'Connell, in his speech before the Dublin corporation, in 1843, declared that he had it on the authority of Burke and Plunket, and on the report of the committee of the Irish House of Commons to inquire into that event, that not only had the great Irish rebellion been fomented by the English government, as preparatory to their plan

of urging a union; but the parliamentary papers published since then, he added, disclosed the astounding fact, that £1,275,000 had been paid in purchase of Irish boroughs, and more than £1,000,000 expended in mere bribes. Bribery was unconcealed. The terms of a purchase were quite familiar in those days. The price of a single vote was £8,000, or an appointment to an office of £2,000 a year, if the parties did not choose to take ready-money. Some got both for their votes; and no less than twenty peerages, ten bishoprics, one chief-justiceship, and six puisne judgeships, were the prices of votes for the union. Add to this officers who were appointed to the revenue, the army and navy, in recompense of union votes. At first Castlereagh failed; but he then bought up the seats in parliament, and so achieved a majority. The late Daniel O'Connell was not very careful, we admit, in the strict accuracy of his statements; but he spoke the truth as to the way in which the Irish parliament was dissolved, and its union with that of Great Britain effected; or else, how can we account for the fact, that the idea which was received with indignation in 1799, was carried, in 1800, by a majority of forty-one. The truth is, as Grattan said—"The peerage was sold; the caitiffs of corruption were everywhere—in the lobby, in the streets, on the steps and at the doors of every parliamentary leader: titles to some, offices to others, corruption to all."

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## CHAPTER IV.

### ENGLAND AND FRANCE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR.

WILLIAM PITT, it must be remembered, began life as a reformer; and to the end of his career he never was a Pittite—a man opposed to all reform, and the avowed advocate of monopoly and wrong. He was driven into war, neither expecting its extent or duration. He relied mainly on our navy; and that was in a state of discontent, and not without cause. "Mutinies," writes the biographer of Admiral Viscount Exmouth, "were the natural results of the system which had prevailed in the navy; and it is only wonderful that obedience had been preserved so long. Everything was supplied by contract; and the check upon the contractor being generally inadequate, gross abuses prevailed. Officers living at that time could tell tales which may seem incredible now. The provisions were often utterly unfit for human food. Casks of meat, after having been on board some time, were loathsome to more senses than one. The biscuits, from inferior quality, and a bad system of storage, were devoured by insects, and fell to pieces at a touch; and the provisions of a more perishable nature, such as cheese, butter, raisins, &c., were in a still worse condition. Among crews thus fed the scurvy made dreadful ravages. The *Princessa*, when she formed part of Rodney's fleet in the West Indies, sent 200 men to the hospital at one time. The purser received certain authorised perquisites instead of pay, and one-eighth of the seamen's allowance was his right, so that their pound was only fourteen ounces. Prize-money melted away as it passed through the courts and offices. Not even public charities could escape; and the noble establishment at Greenwich was disgraced by placing in it superannuated servants and other landsmen as worn-out sailors; and conferring the superior appointments, intended for deserving naval officers, upon political supporters and friends."

A gradual improvement, in all departments of the public service, commenced from the time of Mr. Pitt's accession to power; and the worst of these abuses had been corrected long before 1797. Still, so much remained, that the demands of the seamen, when they mutinied at Spithead, were not less due to themselves, than desirable for the general interests of the service. A moderate increase in their



pay and Greenwich pensions; an improvement in their provisions; the substitution of traders' for pursers' weight and measure; and an allowance of vegetables instead of flour with their fresh meat, when in port, were their chief claims. They did not resort to violent measures till petitions had been tried in vain. They urged their demands firmly, but most respectfully; and they always declared their intention to suspend the prosecution of them if the country should require their services to meet the enemy at sea. A committee of the Admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, immediately repaired to Portsmouth, to induce the refractory seamen to return to their duty. Offers were made; and it was thought the whole matter was amicably settled. However, a second mutiny arose, caused by a fear entertained by the seamen that government did not mean to accede to their demands. A collision occurred; five seamen were killed, and an admiral and a captain were taken into custody by the crew, and confined several hours in separate cabins. Shortly after, Lord Howe arrived from the Admiralty, with full power to settle all differences; and as his lordship was the bearer of an act of parliament which had been passed, granting an increase of pay, and also his majesty's pardon, the flag of insurrection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy. The public, who had seen, with alarm, this dangerous state of things, felt relieved; but their apprehensions were again excited as they heard of a new mutiny in another quarter, which, for boldness and extent, is without a parallel in our naval history. We allude to the mutiny at the Nore.

Encouraged by the success of the mutineers at Spithead, the North Sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, mutinied under the leadership of Richard Parker a bold and determined man. On the 23rd of May, the flag of Admiral Buckner was struck on board the *Sandwich*, and the red symbol of mutiny hoisted in its stead. Each man-of-war sent two delegates, and there was a committee of twelve in every ship. The delegates went on shore daily; and after holding their meetings, paraded the streets and ramparts with music and flags. It was intimated to the seamen that no further concessions than what had already been made, would be granted. Their indignation knew no bounds. Some of the more desperate of them were for carrying the ships into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding; alleging, that all they desired was a redress of grievances. For the purpose of extorting compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a passage to merchant ships up or down the river. To supply their wants, they took from one vessel 300 sacks of flour, to distribute through the fleet. At this time they were joined by four men-of-war and a sloop, which had deserted from the fleet of Admiral Duncan, then in Yarmouth-roads. This accession of strength swelled the mutinous fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. The appearance of such a fleet under the command of a set of common sailors, sent terror through the land. Government was by no means inactive at this crisis. Pardon was offered to all the mutineers who would return to their duty. This was speedily followed by two acts of parliament—one for more effectually restraining the intercourse of the ships with the shore; and another for punishing, with the utmost severity, any attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous practices. The last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made by the Earl of Northesk, the commander of the *Monmouth*; to whom the delegates communicated the terms on which alone they would give up their ships. The terms were rejected; and all hopes at reconciliation being thus at an end, steps were taken to reduce the mutineers by force. At the last moment this, however, was rendered unnecessary. Disunion appeared in the ranks of the mutineers. Many of the ships being destitute of provisions and water, struck the red flag. Some were returning to obedience, and sailed away, seeking protection under the guns of Sheerness. All further resistance was now in vain; and after a fruitless attempt to gain a general pardon, the crew of the *Sandwich* steered that ship into Sheerness, where Parker was arrested, and brought before a court-martial.

The prisoner was charged with various acts of mutiny, committed on board his majesty's ships at the Nore; of disobedience to orders, and of contempt of the authority of officers. The case was clear against him, and he was sentenced to death. He met his fate with fortitude. A great number of the other mutineers received sentence of death, and several of the ringleaders were executed; but the far greater number, and in glorious victories, lived to wipe away the stain of mutiny.

Another trouble, at this time, was the state of the money-market. The funds went down; there was a run upon the banks; cash payments were suspended; and the credit of the nation was saved.

But England was still elate with hope. On the sea our successes were brilliant. Sir John Jervis, whose duty it was to watch the combined fleets of France and Spain, and Holland, gained a grand victory over them on the 14th of February, 1797, off Cape St. Vincent; in which fight, Nelson, then a commodore, greatly distinguished himself. Off Camperdown, also, another triumph was won over the Dutch fleet, by Admiral Duncan. Parliament and people were enthusiastic. Sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage, under the title of Earl St. Vincent. Duncan was made a viscount, and Nelson was invested with the Order of the Bath. Pensions, gold medals, and chains were liberally voted at the same time. Altogether the nation was in good spirits, in spite of the income-tax, which Pitt introduced and carried. France was fast tending to a dictatorship when Lord Palmerston was a baby. In England, Mr. Pitt had become dictator. It fared well with pensioners and placemen in those days; and perhaps the British farmer was as well off then as he ever was. We get a vivid picture of him in a book now rarely read—the *Autobiography of Orator Hunt*. The days of Mr. Pitt were days of high prices, when, if the nation was going to the bad, it was not aware of the fact; and the old English farmer was living at a jolly rate. Hunt writes—"Those were glorious times for farmers. The price of corn, and all sorts of agricultural produce, was enormous; and, as I had grown most excellent crops that season (1800), my profits were most ample. My bailiff wrote me word that he continued to obtain the highest price in Devizes market for my corn, both for wheat and barley; and one week he sold wheat for £5 5s. a sack; and barley for £5 a quarter." Farmers, in those days, laughed to scorn the homely maxim of their fathers—

"He that by the plough would thrive,  
Must either hold himself or drive."

Hunt says he never lived up to his income; yet his was the life of a nobleman rather than of an agriculturist. "My farming concerns," he writes, "were well attended to, though I spent a great portion of my time in fox-hunting and shooting, and likewise kept a great deal of company. Scarcely a day in the week passed that I was not out to a party, or had one at my own house; but much more frequently at home. I kept an excellent table, had a good cellar of wine; and there never was any lack of visitors to partake of it. My life was a constant scene of gaiety and dissipation—one continued round of pleasure. I had barely time to attend to my own personal concerns; for no sooner was one party of pleasure ended than another began. The hounds met at this cover to-day, at that to-morrow; and so on through the week. Dinners, balls, plays, hunting, shooting, fishing, and driving, in addition to my large farming concerns, which required my attendance at markets and fairs; and which business I never neglected, even in this hey-day of levity and vanity. All these things left me no leisure to think or reflect, and scarcely time to sleep; for no sooner was one pleasure or engagement ended, than I found I had engaged to participate in another; and I joined in them all with my usual enthusiasm." Money lightly came, and went as lightly in those days. Lord Warwick, in his place in parliament, speaking of the extravagance of farmers, said some of them had actually reached such a pitch of luxury that they actually drank



brandy with their wine. Mr. Hunt adds, in confirmation—"I, too, knew a very humorous farmer and worthy fellow, of the name of Mackerel, of Collingbourn, who frequently did the same thing at the principal market-room of the 'Bear,' at Devizes; at the head of which table I at that time used to preside every week. Mackerel used to call this liquor Lord Warwick; and another farmer used always to drink a knob of white sugar in each glass of claret; for, be it known to the reader, that I have repeatedly seen drank at that table, on a market-day, by twelve or fourteen farmers, two dozen of old port, and, as a finish, two dozen of claret. Then they would mount their chargers, and off they would go in a body, each of them with £200 or £300 in his pocket; and the Lord have mercy upon the poor fellow who interrupted them, or failed to get out of their way upon the road home! No set of men ever carried their heads higher than they did; no set of men were ever more inflated or purse-proud than were these farmers during these days of prosperity." Mr. Hunt gives us a still clearer view of farming profits. "In the year 1801," he writes, "I grew twelve quarters of best oats per acre upon eight acres of poor farm land at Widdington, the rent of which was ten shillings per acre. It was the heaviest and finest crop of oats that I ever saw. It was very fine weather, and they were carried in, and made into a rick by themselves. In the spring they were thrashed out, and all sold for seed at £3 a quarter. Now, as they averaged twelve quarters an acre, the sale amounted to £36, far more than the value of the fee-simple of the land. There were also more than three tons of straw upon each acre; and as, during that season, straw sold at £6 per ton, the actual value of the produce, taking off £1 a ton for the carriage of the straw, was £50 per acre; while the fee-simple of the land would not have sold for £20 per acre." Again, in the same year, the average price of wheat, throughout England, was £6 a quarter. No wonder Hunt tells us this period was the zenith of the farmer's glory. If a farm was to be let, scores were riding and driving over each other ready to break their necks, or take it at any price. Not only farmers, but tailors, tinkers, grocers, linendrapers, and all sorts of tradesmen and shop-keepers were running, helter-skelter, to be farmers. Mr. Hunt's father used to class the whole of these under the denomination of "apron farmers;" and never, says his son, was there a more intelligible term applied to any set of men. In every parish you saw one of these apron farmers—gentlemen who knew very well how to handle a yard so as to make short measure in selling a piece of cloth; men who could acquit themselves well at a pestle and mortar; who could tie up a paper parcel, or split a fig; who could drive a goose-quill, or ogle the ladies from behind their counters very decently; but who knew no more about the management of a farm than they did about algebra, or the most intricate problem in Euclid. A pretty mess these gentry made of it. Every one who had saved four or five thousand pounds by his trade must now become a farmer. They all knew what profits the farmer was making; and they not only envied him, but they made a desperate plunge to become participators with him in the booty. There was scarcely an attorney in the whole district that did not carry on the double trade of quill-driving and clodhopping. Most of them purchased land, even if they borrowed the money to pay for it; and many of them, after having farmed and farmed till they had not a shilling to support their families, have been compelled to give up their estates to the mortgagees. Mr. Hunt mentions one gentleman whose ignorance of country affairs was such, that he did not know barley and wheat from grass, nor beans from oats, when growing; and who seriously proposed, as the best method of hatching ducks, placing them under rooks. Yet he must be a farmer, merely because he had married a lady with a little money. Such was farming when George III. was king, and when we were at war with France, by land and sea, in every quarter of the globe. It is to be feared that the poor came off badly: nor can we be surprised to hear, as we shall in time, of bread-riots, and breaking of machines, and rick-burning; but the old farmers drank good wine and brandy, like Mynheer Van Dunk, and feasted and married, and lived thoughtlessly, as in

the days before the flood. When peace came, and when high prices were gone, in spite of the passing of the corn laws to enable him to pay high rents, a sad change came over the spirit of his dream. He had to give up his feasting and riotous living; his hunting and fishing; his tandems and his pointers—to work hard—to study—to become a scientific, as well as a practical farmer. But we anticipate.

France, as we have seen, in 1795, was under the rule of the Directory, consisting of Barras, Rewbell, Sièyes, Larévellière, Lepaux, and Letournan. Sièyes, having declined the honourable office which was then offered him, was replaced by Carnot. Such were the men called to direct the government of the republic at a moment of extreme difficulty. The financial distress was very great, and the want of provisions was as pressing as ever. These embarrassments were increased by misfortunes on the frontier; for no sooner had news arrived that Jourdain had found it necessary to repass the Rhine, than intelligence was received that the Austrians had driven the French from Mayence, and that Wurmser had inflicted a defeat on Pichegru. At the same time the royalists were again in motion in the turbulent provinces of the west, where Hoche was now appointed commander-in-chief. Charette had quarrelled with the republicans, and again taken up arms; but Stofflet, and the other great Vendean chiefs, were not only cut off from acting with him, by the skilful manner in which Hoche placed his troops, but they were kept back by jealousy, excited by the partiality shown to Charette by the head of the Bourbons. An additional danger also arose from the fact that the coast was threatened by an English squadron, on which the Count of Artois had at length embarked. The Directory, however, proceeded in its labours with great courage and activity. A new military force, for the guard of the government and legislative bodies, was organised, under the direction of Bonaparte, which was sufficient to prevent a repetition of the popular tumults which had so often disturbed the peace of the capital.

Of course, in the unsettled state of France, it was not long before an opposition to the Directory was organised. The trading classes required peace. The royalists encouraged this feeling. The patriots, on the other hand, accused the government of yielding too much to the counter-revolutionists, and of desiring to undermine the republic. In a paper, called *Tribun du Peuple*, a furious Jacobin, named Babœuf, revived the principles of Marat. Plots of all kinds were formed; and a deputy, named Cochon, was appointed to the office of discovering them. The appointment was just made in time to save the Directory from a determined attempt organised by Babœuf and his friends to gain possession of the sovereign power.

The Directory, under the influence of Bonaparte, was warlike. An attempt which was made at this time, on the part of the English ministers, to treat for peace, was haughtily declined. A grand attack on Austria, through Italy, was resolved on. There revolutionary principles had been favourably received by an oppressed people; and there, as in most of the countries of Europe at that time, none could wonder that the contagion should spread, and that the chains of the oppressor should be broken, if only for a time. All virtue had been banished from the governing class. In Venice and Genoa an effete oligarchy, who thought war an ignoble art, had quite forgotten the glories of the past. The shadow of Austria hung over Florence, Milan, and Naples, without arousing a breath of remonstrance; and the pope and cardinals—tolerated, yet despised—reposed in easy despotism in Rome. Miss Knight, in her *Diary*, recently published, gives us unusually graphic pictures of this bland existence of the eighteenth century. She was often the guest of a singularly charming cardinal, De Bernis, who owed his elevation to poetry far too Anacreontic to be quoted here; and, at his palazzo, she had many opportunities for watching the flirtations of gay prelates, and of easy Helens, with their “cavalieri servanti.” At Rome there was “much luxury, ignorance, and little religion.” So said the Emperor Leopold; and Miss Knight fully illustrates the dictum by tales of entertainments worthy of Vitellius, by anecdotes



of the contempt felt for simple and earnest ministers of religion; and by curious stories about the czar's ignorance of the clergy. Everywhere the people trusted to the principles and armies of France; and powers and principalities tottered to their fall. Monarchs were in despair, and courtiers indignant. The King of Sardinia sued to the victorious Napoleon for peace. Genoa did the same. The Duke of Parma followed suit. In Paris there was great rejoicing, as Murat brought with him the standards taken from the enemy; or as pictures and statues were received from the Italian palaces and temples, where they had long been the delight and admiration of Europe; or as it was told how the French army was fed and paid with the money and stores levied on the foe. In May, Bonaparte entered Milan under a triumphal arch prepared for his reception. He proclaimed that his mission was to restore Italian independence by driving the Austrians out of Italy. He established a municipal government in Milan and decreed the formation of national guards through the duchy; but he levied a contribution of 20,000,000 of francs on the Milanese, for the support of his army. He received, while at Milan, a deputation from the Duke of Modena, who sought the same terms as the Duke of Parma; and Bonaparte granted them, on condition that he should contribute to the republic a contribution of 10,000,000 of francs, a supply of provisions and horses, and the surrender of a quantity of works of art. The republican general had now gathered so much money from the subdued provinces, that he was enabled to send a few millions home to the Directory, and a million to the army on the Rhine. Napoleon continued his triumphant career. Naples was humbled; and the pope had to sue for peace. Bonaparte exacted, as the price, the acknowledgment of the independence of the legations of Bologna and Ferrara; the occupation of Ancona by a French garrison; and a contribution of 21,000,000 of francs; of a large supply of provisions for the army; and of a hundred masterpieces of art for the museums of Paris.

All this time the position of the Directory became more and more embarrassing. The conduct of Bonaparte, who seemed to be aiming at the dictatorship, alarmed many. The financial difficulties of the government were also increasing. The mandates which had superseded the assignats, like them, had fallen in value. People in the service of government were in great poverty, as they were paid in paper-money, which had ceased to have any worth in commerce, where metal had again come into circulation. The armies in Italy and Germany were well off, because they exacted money and provisions from the countries they overran; but the army of the interior was in a miserable state of destitution. Hoche was obliged to keep the provinces of the west under military government, because it enabled him to levy contributions of provisions, to sustain his soldiers; but he himself, and his men, were almost without clothes. The military hospitals were abandoned, because money was wanting to procure medicines, and even food; and the recruits for the army in Italy were often stopped on their way by similar indigence. The *gendarmérie* fell into a state of complete disorganisation; and the public roads were infested by brigands. The "patriots" again sought the overthrow of the government, but in vain.

Further successes attended the French in Italy, where, in all quarters, Bonaparte was driving the Austrians back. In January, 1797, the sanguinary battle of Rivoli was fought, which ended in a complete victory for the French. Next the fate of Mantua was decided, and the Austrians capitulated. Bonaparte then hastened to Bologna to humble the pope, and to obtain from him the money necessary for organising and carrying into execution a decisive attack upon Austria. The pope, who was preparing to fly from Rome, was no sooner assured that no attack should be made on the Catholic faith, than he subscribed to any demands which were made upon him; and a treaty was signed, stipulating that the pope should abandon all treaties against France, and acknowledge the republic; that he should cede all his claims upon the Venetian; and that he should give up to the Cisalpine republic the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, and the province of Romagna. Ancona was

to be retained by France until a general peace; and the pope was to pay to France fifteen millions of francs, in addition to the fifteen which had been promised on a former occasion, and not yet paid. Large quantities of provisions and horses were also to be supplied to the army from the papal territory. Bonaparte then hastened away to cross the Alps, and march upon Vienna. Arrived within twenty five leagues of that city, a peace was concluded between the French and Austrians. The emperor gave up to France all his possessions in the Netherlands; and, as a member of the Germanic empire, agreed that the Rhine should be the boundary of France. He also surrendered Lombardy; and, in return, the Venetian territory on the continent—Illyria, Istria, and all Upper Italy as far as the Oglio—was to be given to the emperor. Venice was to remain independent. The emperor further agreed to acknowledge the republics which were to be formed in Italy, under the protection of the French republic. The French army was to withdraw from the Austrian territory, and take up its quarters on the borders of the Tyrol. It was agreed that two congresses should take place, and some minor arrangements were made. As soon as Bonaparte had signed the treaty, he despatched Massina with it to Paris; and, at the same time, he sent couriers, by the shortest routes, to put a stop to the hostilities of the French armies in Germany. The French people in general rejoiced at the conclusion of peace; but the French Directory, to whom Bonaparte had acted as a master rather than a servant, were not pleased, and the armies in Germany were deeply mortified by the intelligence. The army of the Sambre and the Meuse, recruited and supplied in a great measure from the Netherlands, and counting full 80,000 men, had been placed under the command of General Hoche, and was ready for marching early in the year. Hoche, jealous of the proceedings of Bonaparte, was ambitious of founding a republic in Germany, and waited patiently for orders to advance. The army of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Moreau, was, on the contrary, unable to move, from the absolute want of provisions, munitions, and money. It was on the movements of these two generals that Bonaparte reckoned for support in his advance upon Vienna. It was long before either Hoche or Moreau could obtain from the Directory the order for marching; but after that order was given, Hoche, who was especially jealous of the glory obtained by Bonaparte, was advancing rapidly through the centre of Europe, and had already inflicted more than one severe defeat on the Austrians, when he was arrested in his progress by the unwelcome news of the armistice.

Bonaparte returned to Venice, which he severely punished for revolting while *en route* for Vienna. At Easter there was a violent outbreak at Venice, in which the French garrison cannonaded the city, and caused great devastation in it; and the peasants murdered all the French they found in the town or outposts. Detachments of the French army, under Vilmaine, soon marched upon Verona, took it from the insurgents, and committed cruel retaliations. These events furnished Bonaparte with an excuse for employing rigour against Venice. The terror he excited led to a forced revolution, by which the Venetian constitution was overthrown; a new republic, on the model of that of France, established; and a French garrison received into the town. At the same time Bonaparte caused the Ionian Islands to be taken possession of by French troops. The existing government of Genoa was also overthrown by the intervention of Bonaparte, and a republic, like that of France, established in its stead.

Serious political complications, in the meanwhile, prevailed in Paris. The five individuals who composed the executive government differed in manners, in character, and principle; and soon began to form into parties, which looked upon each other with no very friendly eye. Barras disgusted his colleagues, and drew disgrace on the government, by the extreme licentiousness of his life, and the offensive coarseness of his manners. When the time for the new elections arrived, a considerable gain ensued to the royalists. Pichegru had become one of them; the new director, Barthelemy, allied himself with Carnot; and the majority in the Directory, still remained united in resisting the counter-revolutionists, who, aided



by the support of the Clichyan members of the club of Clichy, were all-powerful in the councils. In the assembly of the Five Hundred the violent Clichyan, or royalist party, were predominant; but in the Council of the Ancients, what was termed the constitutional party, or the moderate opponents of revolutionary principles, were strong enough to throw their weight into the opposite scale, and turn it. The Clichyans, nevertheless, persisted in their violent hostility, and some of their proposals were directed against Bonaparte himself, and were calculated to alienate that general and the army from the counter-revolutionary party. Great dissatisfaction was expressed at the unjust interference of Bonaparte in the affairs of Venice and Genoa, and at the violent revolution he had effected in those states. The Directory, alarmed at the conduct of their opponents, began to believe in the existence of a great plot for the restoration of royalty, which seemed to be confirmed by the seizure, in Venice, of one of the principal agents of the Bourbons, who had given information of the secret treasons of Pichegru. In this dilemma, the three directors who formed the majority resolved to effect a political movement by means of the army, which was still strongly imbued with revolutionary ideas. This was especially the case with the army of Italy; and Bonaparte secretly assured the directors that he was ready to march to their assistance. But his ultimate designs began to be feared, and the directors fancied they saw a more faithful republican in Hoche, who had an army of 20,000 men; and who, in reply to a communication from Barras, made without the knowledge of his colleague, at once offered his assistance.

In July the directors were alarmed by the Clichyans, in the Council of the Five Hundred, bringing forward a plan to reorganise the national guard; and a commission, of which Pichegru was chosen president, was appointed to report on it. The directors immediately prepared to act. By ill-luck at this time, Hoche had halted his army within eleven leagues from Paris—a direct infringement of one of the articles of the constitution. In addition to this imprudence, Hoche's officers and soldiers had guessed his intentions, and boasted that they were on their way to Paris to put down the aristocrats. The alarm was now great among the members of the opposition. Hoche had, meanwhile, entered Paris, and presented himself before the directors. Carnot, who presided, addressed the general in a tone of severity, and demanded by whose orders he had acted. Barras was afraid to justify him by confessing his own act, and remained silent. As Barras had not told Reubell or Larévelliére the orders he had sent, they were unable to give any explanation; and the dispute became so embarrassing, that Larévelliére put an end to it by adjourning the meeting. Hoche then learned, with great indignation, that Barras had sent the orders unknown to his colleagues. The latter meant to have kept the means of executing this *coup-d'état* in his own hands; but as the directors were not yet ready for the execution of their project, the approach of the army had only uselessly compromised them. The Directory, therefore, abandoned the idea of employing one of the generals-in-chief, and resolved upon writing to Bonaparte, to send them one of his generals of division. But Bonaparte did not wait for their appeal; he had already taken the initiative. At a festival given to the armies in his honour, he had addressed the audience, in rather violent language, on the designs of the counter-revolutionists in France, and on the difficulties thrown in the way of the government, and encouraged them to draw up addresses to him on the subject, which soon received thousands and thousands of signatures; and he sent these addresses to the Directory, with a proclamation of his own, in order that they might be printed in the journals. At the same time he sent one of his most confidential aides-de-camp to Paris, to offer his aid to the Directory, and to keep him well-informed of political events. There was a new difficulty created for the Directory; as, to publish these addresses, was forbidden by the law. But the will of the army of Italy was too strong to be resisted, and the directors complied; at the same time they accepted the offer of money made by Bonaparte. The Clichyans were

alarmed: it was clear that they had offended Bonaparte, who, it was evident, was the coming man. Aided by him, the Directory made a sudden attack on the Clichyans, and triumphed. They were supported by the deputies. Their obnoxious colleagues, Carnot and Barthelemy, were sentenced to transportation. Pichegru, and many others, were treated in a similar manner.

Bonaparte, all this while, was biding his time.

After forming a republic in Italy, he had come to the determination that it was in Egypt that England was to be attacked. At this time (1797) peace was made with Austria by the treaty of Campo Formio, and the Directory made Bonaparte commander-in-chief of the army of England. They were anxious he should undertake the expedition at once; while Bonaparte himself was only anxious about his expedition to Egypt. In May, 1798, he started for the East. He first took possession of Malta, and then sailed for Egypt. The day following Nelson arrived, with the British fleet, in pursuit. Bonaparte landed without opposition, won the battle of the Pyramids, and became master of Lower Egypt. At the very moment of success he received a blow as unexpected as it was severe. Nelson had at length come up with the French fleet at Aboukir Bay, and had beaten them. The victory known in England as the battle of the Nile, was one of the most glorious in our naval history. The result was, that out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of 120 guns, and the *Timoleon*, of seventy-four, were burnt; while two eighty-gun ships, and seven seventy-fours, were captured; and it was the firm persuasion of the British admiral, that had he been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and smaller vessels in the bay would have shared a similar fate. The British loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to 895. Of the French, 3,105, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel, and 5,225 perished.

On land Bonaparte was firmly established. The English ministry, fearing for the safety of our Indian territories, entered into a treaty with Turkey, by virtue of which she was to provide a large force to harass his rear. St. Jean d'Acre was selected as the Turkish rendezvous, and towards this Bonaparte hastened, with a view of at once crushing the Turkish contingent. Sir Sidney Smith, in order to check this movement, instantly set sail, for the relief of Acre, with a naval force under his command, and had the satisfaction of arriving there two days before the French. Then ensued a severe siege and an heroic resistance. Nine times the French attacked, and nine times they were repulsed with great slaughter. On the fiftieth day of the siege a squadron of English vessels hove in sight. The situation of Bonaparte now became desperate, and he determined to take the place before the reinforcement could have time to land. With a like spirit of resolve, Sir Sidney Smith left his ship, taking with him every man that could be spared. In vain Bonaparte continued the sanguinary struggle. He gave orders for a retreat: and thus closed one of the most humiliating and disastrous enterprises he had ever undertaken. The fates are retributive. At Jaffa, on his way to Acre, he had shot down 4,000 prisoners, to free himself of their incumbrance. For the same purpose, it is said, upwards of 500 of his own wounded and sick were poisoned by his orders. The next step was to return to France, where he was courted by all parties, and was invited by the Directory to a grand festival. Had the English cruisers done their duty, Bonaparte would have been captured on his return from Egypt, and modern history would have had to tell a very different tale. Alas! Samson slumbered in the arms of Delilah!

Bad news greeted the French hero on his return. The republic had been beaten in Italy by Suwarrow. No sooner did the French cease to be formidable, than the fatal effects of jealousy began to appear in the camps and councils of the allies. The success of the allied armies in Italy, nevertheless, served to compensate the sovereigns of Europe for the losses they had sustained in other quarters; but the defection of the Emperor of Russia damped the expectations of the cabinets of London and Vienna.

In the meanwhile let us see the last of the French republic. On all sides it



was felt that the Directory was doomed. The Abbé Sièyes, constantly intriguing, was secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Bonaparte; and after disclosing to him certain projects which he entertained, solicited his aid. At five in the morning of the month of November, by a manœuvre of the conspirators in the Council of Ancients, it was proposed, without communicating with the Directory, that the assembly should return to St. Cloud; that General Bonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution; and that, accordingly, he should have command of all the forces. Bonaparte instantly issued two proclamations, announcing his appointment to the command of the civic guard and the army, and inviting them to support their general in his endeavours to restore the blessings of peace, and victory, and freedom. He then marched 10,000 troops to the Tuileries, and guarded that place so effectually that no one was permitted to pass. Three of the directors, and all the citizens of Paris, were, for the first time, acquainted with what had taken place, by the proclamation with which the walls of the capital soon became placarded. Moreau, with 500 men, took charge of the Luxembourg, where he was to hold the directors as prisoners, and permit them to have no communication with the exterior. By an act of authority which the constitution allowed to the minister at that time, Fouché suspended all the municipalities in the capital, which at once deprived the patriots of their rallying-points; while he caused the town to be placarded with proclamations calling upon the people to be calm and confident. The three directors were astounded. Barras, who was in his bath, promised to unite with his two colleagues; but soon after he was visited by Bruix and Talleyrand, who easily persuaded him to give them his resignation in writing. Moulins and Gruher were thus deprived of all power of acting, as the directors could not form a deliberative meeting; and they obtained permission to go to the Tuileries to try to come to an understanding with their confederates Sièyes and Roger Ducos, ignorant as yet of their resignation. They met with a very rude reception from Bonaparte, and returned to the Luxembourg, where they were now confined in rooms separate from each other; while Barras was sent, under an escort of dragoons, to his country seat.

The whole of the executive power was now placed in the hands of Bonaparte, who held council in the hall of the commission of inspectors in the evening, to determine on the proceedings at St. Cloud next day. Some of the Ancients had had time to reflect, and became alarmed at the idea of giving up the republic to a military despotism. They were too late.

Next morning the scene opened in St. Cloud. The friends of the constitution, fearing it was to be sacrificed to the ambition of an individual, expostulated so warmly with the Ancients, that it became doubtful whether, at the last moment, Bonaparte's grand design would not be defeated. Napoleon became aware of this danger; and as he feared most that Jourdain, Augereau, and Bernadotte might gain over his troops, he gave out that any one who should attempt to address the soldiers, whether a member of the councils or a general, should be instantly massacred. At the sitting of the councils, in spite of every precaution to the contrary, Bonaparte's plans were again in danger of falling through. In this dilemma he resolved to address the two councils in person. On his way he was met by Augereau, who said, bantering—"You are in a fine position now." "Things were much worse at Arcola," replied Bonaparte.

In the council Bonaparte delivered a short, impassioned speech. A deputy cried out—"Speak of the constitution." "Constitution," said he, "you have none: it is you who have destroyed it, by attacking, on the 18th of Fructidor, the national representation; by annulling, on the 22nd of Floreal, the popular elections; and by attacking, on the 30th of Prairial, the independence of the government. All parties seek to destroy this constitution of which you speak; they have all sought me; made me the confidant of their projects, and invited me to second them. I refused: but if it were necessary I could mention the parties, and the men." Several voices cried—"Name them: let there be a secret committee."

A scene of violent confusion followed; but as soon as he could be heard, Bonaparte again talked of the danger of the country, and invited the Council of the Ancients to assist in saving it. "Surrounded," said he, "by my brothers in arms, I shall know how to second you. I call to witness those brave grenadiers, whose bayonets I see, and whom I have so often led against the enemy. I call their courage to witness, we will assist you in saving the country; and if an orator," he added, in a threatening tone and gesture, "should talk of outlawing me, I would then appeal to my companions in arms. Consider that I march accompanied by the god of fortune and the god of war." In a British senate such a speech would have been received with laughter; amongst the French it was a palpable hit. Overawed by such language, the Council of the Ancients listened, and trembled, and approved.

Bonaparte next made his way to the Council of Five Hundred, accompanied by a party of grenadiers. He left the latter at the door as he entered. He was received with cries of indignation, and with loud protests against the presence of soldiers, and the violence with which he seemed to threaten them. "Down with the dictator!—down with the tyrant!" were heard on all sides; while others called on him to quit the hall. The grenadiers, seeing him confounded in the midst of this uproar, rushed in and dragged him away, pretending that daggers had been raised to assassinate him. Bonaparte immediately mounted his horse and rode to his troops, telling them that an attempt had been made upon his life: to which they replied by cries of "*Vive Bonaparte!*" The tumult in the council, meanwhile, continued, and the anger of the patriots was now directed against Lucien, who still occupied the chair. He attempted to justify his brother. Instead of listening, they called for a resolution of outlawry. As such a resolution would have involved the general's plans in considerable extra danger, Lucien quitted the chair to prevent its being carried, whereupon the hubbub became greater than ever. Lucien's life was in danger, and he was saved by some grenadiers, sent for that purpose by his brother. Bonaparte now saw that his only hope of success lay in the employment of force; and accordingly he sent a battalion of grenadiers, under Murat and Le Clerc, who entered with fixed bayonets, and dispersed the deputies, many of whom were glad to make their escape through the windows. The Ancients, when they heard of these violent proceedings, were shocked; but acquiesced. After the hall had been cleared, some fifty deputies remained, and, under the inspiring glitter of bayonets, passed the necessary decrees required by their new master. Towards midnight, all was calm.

Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos were appointed consuls, and invested with the whole executive power; they entered upon the discharge of their public functions the next day, in the palace of the Luxembourg. The legislative commissioners, at the same time, commenced their sittings.

In forming the new administration, Lucien Bonaparte was constituted Minister of the Interior; and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of Minister of Foreign Affairs. A new constitution was shortly after submitted to the French nation, and almost unanimously approved of. It consisted of an executive, composed of three consuls; one bearing the title of chief, and, in fact, possessing all the authority; a conservative senate, composed of eighty members, appointed for life, and nominated by the consuls; and a legislative body of 300 members, with a tribunate of 100. Bonaparte was nominated first or chief consul for a term of years.

It is said Sièyes had hoped that Bonaparte would be satisfied with directing the military power of the state, leaving the civil power to him. He was soon undeceived. On the very first meeting of the three consuls, Ducos said—"General, the presidency belongs to you of right." Sièyes thought that Bonaparte would have insisted on his taking it; but the latter seated himself in it as a matter of course. On his return from the meeting, Sièyes said to Talleyrand and his brother conspirators—"Gentlemen, you have a master; give yourselves no



further trouble about the affairs of state. Bonaparte can and will manage them at his own pleasure." Sièyes retired into the senate, with a salary of 25,000 francs, and the estate of Crôsne, in the park of Versailles; whereupon some wag observed—

" Bonaparte to Sièyes has given du Crôsne;  
But Sièyes to Bonaparte has given a throne."

Ducos also retired into the senate. The Abbé Sièyes was great at constitution-mongering, and, in his scheme, the first consul was to have very little to do. Bonaparte was not the sort of man to stand that—to be a sham—to have the appearance, but not the reality of power—to fatten like a pig, as he himself said of Abbé Sièyes' scheme—to fatten like a pig upon so many millions a year. The French revolution had made, and left, men terribly in earnest. We shall now hear of it no more. The Bourbons had gone, and a greater and more splendid power than that of theirs was to be built up. And thus the revolution passed away—a warning and an example to all coming time, and a blessing to all lands, in spite of its panics, bloodshed, and evil deeds. Our young poets welcomed it, such as Burns and Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge. What a light, glory, and fulness of promise it shed all over Europe for awhile! The darkness of feudalism, ignorance, and superstition had gone, and the light had come. How fair were Godwin's dreams of political justice! In his reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey, Cottle writes—"It may be proper to state that all three of my young friends, in that day of excitement, felt a detestation of the French war then raging, and a hearty sympathy with the efforts made in France to obtain political amelioration. Almost every young and unprejudiced mind participated in this feeling; and Muir, and Palmer, and Morgarot were regarded as martyrs in the holy cause of liberty." Wordsworth, who was in Paris at the birth of the revolution, returned, as his latest biographer, Mr. Palgrave, tells us, with a strong sympathy for what France had arrived at in 1790; and a great dissatisfaction with the policy towards her pursued by England in 1792. In the letters of Earl Dudley to the Bishop of Llandaff, we have the testimony of an aristocrat, and a friend of Pitt, in favour of the benefits, visible even to himself, of the French revolution. We taught the French the art of revolution. Our English history was their model; but the original is pale and colourless, when compared with the copy. The difference is of race, rather than circumstantial.

Under the Stuarts we were fast sinking beneath the sway of priest and king; enslaved body and soul. As France was in a still more deplorable state, so, in like manner, she had a terrible baptism of blood to undergo. A silent, reserved, phlegmatic Prince of Orange would not have saved her as he saved us. As it is, in spite of her revolution, and notwithstanding the wrongs it redressed, and the rights it obtained for the masses, the boon of constitutional liberty is still denied to France. To such an extent, therefore, the French revolution was a failure. It is also charged with bloodshed and crime. Well, we must remember, as the late Mr. Fox, M.P. for Oldham, observed—"Crimes, no doubt, there were—sanguinary and enormous crimes—perpetrated during the course of the French revolution; but, be it remembered, these acts were done in self-defence. The revolution itself was completed peacefully; and no proof whatever is capable of being adduced, that a peaceably-accomplished event it would have remained had it been let alone. But the fact is, there was a ceaseless struggle for a counter-revolution—a struggle carried on continually within, and stimulated without. The revolution was never secure for a day: there were always persons in different ranks of society plotting: foreign gold was circulating there to bribe domestic treason: and all Europe in arms was thundering on the frontiers. Is it wonderful that crimes were committed in self-defence in the circumstances in which they were placed? Blockade a man in his own house—bribe his servants—put gunpowder

under his bed—set fire to his dwelling, already surrounded by banditti—and then you must not be surprised if his conduct be *rather* extravagant, and he becomes somewhat violent. Let there be no exaggeration here. In describing this event, we speak as though the streets of Paris had for years and years flowed with blood. Much there was, indeed, shed of real noble blood; many fell under the guillotine, who deserved statues raised to their honour, and a niche in history—many who, if they had lived in this country, at no great distance of time, would have had their chance of being hanged under the reign of terror of William Pitt: for, if the French literary, philosophic, and patriotic men suffered, we must not forget that our honest Hardy, and not only men of the shoemaking class, but that our Holcrofts, and Thelwalls, and Horne Tookes—our men of philosophy, literature, art, and genius—were also perilled; and it was by no virtue of the then ruling power that we did not commit some crimes as foul as any of those that stained the progress of the French revolution.”

In another direction the French revolution was a sad stumbling-block. As regards England, it put political progress back half a generation. By our revolution in 1688, we had obtained the independence of the judges; the liberation of the press from the control of a censorship; and, in the third place, the great principle of religious liberty was proclaimed. Under the settlement thus effected, the nation enjoyed an amount of prosperity and repose which made it the envy of surrounding nations. But evils had grown up. Our Hanoverian kings were mere foreign dogs, dependent upon the Whig party, and disliked by their natural allies, the Tories. The country was in the hands of the great revolutionary parties, and the power of the monarch was nothing; and thus abuses had crept into the heart of the body politic, and a cry for reform was raised. A character of selfishness, severity, and narrowness had stamped much of our legislation, especially as regards the poorer classes; and Sir Robert Walpole had lowered the tone of public men, till it became more like that of pedlars than statesmen. Pitt began life as a reformer. The Duke of Richmond, and the proudest noblemen in the land, were in favour of reform. The nation was on the side of reform. Burke, and Fox, and Pitt were all ready to carry a measure of reform. What was it altered this state of things? What was it drove the nation into the hands of the Tories? What made Pitt abandon the principles and pledges of his youth? The answer is—the French revolution.

By king and queen, by lords and ladies, by statesmen and officers, by rich merchants and country squires, by millionaires and beggars, by dignitaries in the church, and by pensioners on the state, reform came to be hated with a hatred of which we, in these latter and calmer times, can form no idea. This reaction lasted till the peace—lasted all the time Lord Palmerston was preparing to buckle on the armour, and take his stand as an athlete in the political arena. “The French revolution,” wrote Lord John Russell, in his *History of the Constitution*, “is ascribed to everything, and everything to the French revolution. If a book is written containing new opinions on subjects of philosophy and literature, we are told to avoid them, for to Voltaire and Rousseau is to be attributed the French revolution. If an ignorant cobbler harangues a ragged mob in Smithfield, we are told that the state is in danger, for the fury of a mob was the beginning of the French revolution. If there is discontent in the manufacturing towns, we are told that the discontent of the manufacturing towns in France was the cause of the French revolution. Nay, even if it is proposed to allow a proprietor of land to shoot partridges and hares on his own ground, we are told that this would be to admit the doctrine of natural rights—the source of all the evils of the French revolution. The voice of reason is not listened to; the whole precedent is taken in the gross as a receipt in full for every bad law, for every ancient abuse for maintaining error and applauding incapacity. It is as if, when a patient were worn out with bad fare, and exhausted with debility, a physician should administer copious bleedings because his next-door neighbour was dying with pleurisy.” This



was written many many, years after the French revolution : yet such was the mischievous effect, even then.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE FIRST CONSUL AND WILLIAM PITT.

THE age makes the man. This is true of Bonaparte; and is equally true of his steadfast enemy, William Pitt. But "men make the age," is an axiom equally true; and equally true is it of Bonaparte and Pitt. Bonapartism is still a power—still forms and fashions a great nation. The Pittites have passed away, because they were fighting for a dead and rotten past. Pitt's name, however, was something more than a tradition in English statesmanship, up to the time of the struggle for reform. Let us look at these giants. We begin with the Corsican, who—

"Left a name at which the world grew pale,  
To point a moral or adorn a tale."

In 1332, John Bonaparte was chief magistrate of Florence. In 1404, a descendant and namesake of the above was plenipotentiary from Florence at the Court of Gabriel Visconti, Duke of Milan; and he married a niece of Pope Nicholas VII. His son was ambassador from that pontiff to several foreign Courts. Gabriel Bonaparte established himself at Ajaccio, in Corsica, in 1567; and for several generations his descendants were successively head of the elders of that city. By intermarriages, the Bonapartes, on their emigration into Corsica, had become connected with some of the noblest in Italy.

Carlo Bonaparte studied law at Pisa; and when he returned to Corsica, became advocate in the Royal Court of Assize. He married Letitia Ramolino, at Ajaccio, in 1767. Both were born in that town; and the lady, who was of Neapolitan extraction, is said to have been well descended, remarkable for beauty, strong-minded and accomplished. Carlo had gone into the army, and served under Paoli in his defence of the island in 1768 and 1769, after the Genoese had sold their claim to France. The submission of the Corsicans to the French took place in 1769, in June. On August 15th, Napoleon was born. By birth, therefore, he was a subject of the Bourbons. His mother was seized with the pains of labour while attending mass at the solemnisation of some holiday. She speedily gained her home; and upon reaching her chamber, was delivered of a male child upon an old piece of tapestry, upon which was embroidered the heroes of Homer, and figures of the fabled warriors of antiquity. The child thus born was to outrival, in his career, "the Macedonian madman and the Swede." The month after his birth, Count Marbœuf, the French commissioner at Corsica, convoked the states of the island, comprised of the three orders—clergy, nobles, and commons. The Bonapartes were convoked with the nobility.

Bonaparte, the fighting over, returned to his profession as an advocate, and, soon after, he went to Paris at the head of a deputation of his order, to obtain an audience of Louis XVI., relative to differences which had arisen between the French commissioner, Count Marbœuf, and Count de Narbonne Peter, who had commanded in Corsica. His defence of Count Marbœuf led to a friendship between them. The count was grateful, and, in 1777, obtained for the young Napoleon admission to the military school of Brienne as a king's pensioner. At that time he had an Italian caste of features of a remarkably dark hue, bright piercing eyes, and a large head, quite disproportioned to his body. As a child he was studious; and he applied himself with great earnestness to the study of the

French language, history, and mathematics, in all of which, especially the latter, he made a great proficiency. In his leisure hours he cultivated a little plot of garden; as did all the other boys at Brienne.

At an early age his genius was remarkable. He was the second son of Carlo, Joseph being the oldest; but his uncle, Lucien, who was Archdeacon of Ajaccio, when on his death-bed, designated him, in the presence of his brothers, the chief of the family.

In 1784, in consequence of his proficiency in mathematics, he was selected for the military school in Paris, although he had not attained the age at which scholars are usually admitted to that establishment. The next year he passed his examination successfully, and obtained his first commission in the artillery regiment of La Fère, then forming part of the garrison at Grenoble: he was soon after promoted to the rank of first lieutenant. At Valence, where he was then stationed, he experienced his first attachment: he visited at the house of Madame Columbier, who had a beautiful daughter. They fell in love; but the prudent mother would not hear of marriage. They parted; and when they again met, the lady had become the wife of a private gentleman, and her first love was Emperor of France. Napoleon gave employment to the husband, and made the wife lady of honour to one of his sisters. At Valence Bonaparte also made the acquaintance of M. de Montlevet, who, years after, became his Minister of the Interior: and in that town Napoleon studied other than military questions. The Abbé Raynal proposed a question for discussion—"What are the principles and institutions by which mankind can obtain the greatest amount of happiness?" Napoleon's paper on the subject gained the prize offered by the Academy of France.

While at Valence the French revolution broke out, and Napoleon took the popular side. In Paris he witnessed the attack on the Tuileries, in 1792. On that occasion, he exclaimed—"How could they allow those despicable wretches to enter the palace? Why, a few discharges of grapeshot amongst them would make them all take to their heels: they would be running yet at this moment." Nor did he despise the unfortunate Louis. At a later period, when Sièyes, in conversation, spoke of Louis XVI. as a tyrant, he replied—"He was no tyrant, or I should have been a subaltern officer of artillery; and you, Monsieur l'Abbaye, would be saying mass."

After witnessing the scene of the 10th of August, Napoleon returned with his family to Corsica. Paoli, who had been appointed to the chief command of the island, gave him the captainship of a battalion of guards. When Paoli called upon his countrymen to place themselves under British rule, Napoleon joined the French. The English were for a time successful; and, in 1793, he left the island, taking his mother and sisters with him—his father being dead.

To a certain extent we have indicated his career. He had won his way to the first rank three months before he completed his thirtieth year. Aiming at universal empire, he was thwarted by William Pitt.

William Pitt, orator and statesman, the second son of the great Lord Chatham, was born in 1759. His mother was a Grenville. From his father he inherited a lofty, liberal, magnanimous nature, and commanding oratorical talent. From his mother he derived a methodical accuracy—a power of arranging masses of details which had distinguished two generations of Grenvilles. The child was educated by his father, who trained him for the assembly in which, in time, he was to fill the highest and most arduous post. From earliest boyhood he attended the debates in parliament; and at Cambridge, under the tuition of Tomline, he seems to have acquired most of the learning which he ever had the leisure to master. He became an extraordinary mathematician, for his years. He was also a good classic scholar; and, what was equally advantageous to him, he became a diligent student of political economy, as then expounded by Adam Smith.

Pitt was driven from office by the unnatural alliance formed between Fox and Lord North. Though his chance of office appeared but remote, and he was



actually meditating a return to the bar, to which he had been called, his attitude of proud self-confidence was unchanged. He continued, in haughty and telling language, to inveigh against the apostasy of the coalition; and the applause of the House was echoed by the nation, as, in a felicitous quotation, he contrasted the spotless purity of his political conduct, his "self-resignation to honest poverty," with the triumph of his foes, obtained by tergiversation.

And he was right. Such conduct raised him high in the respect of the nation and the king, and he was soon recalled to office. On the defeat of Fox's India Bill, Pitt was ordered to form an administration, with himself as First Lord of the Treasury; and he accepted the responsibility in the face of a furious and baffled opposition.

The general election of 1784 placed Pitt at the head of affairs, with ampler powers than had been wielded by any minister since the days of Walpole. From 1784 to 1806, with the exception of the brief interval when Addington filled the office of Premier, the government of England devolved upon Pitt.

Pitt's fame, in his earlier years of premiership, was enhanced by several accidental circumstances. Against the expectation of all who had prophesied the decline of England upon the loss of her American colonies, the nation grew in wealth and prosperity. The majority which Pitt commanded in parliament removed from George III. the temptation of governing by illegitimate means; and the factious and unprincipled conduct of the opposition, enhanced, by contrast, his dignified conduct, and reflected much discredit on their leaders. When we bear in mind that the French treaty, and the resolutions of free trade with Ireland, were denounced by Burke, who had spent years in inculcating an analogous policy, and that Fox, the representative of the Whigs of 1688, in his opposition to the Regency Bill, proclaimed theories of divine right, it is evident reflecting men must have preferred the principles and policy of Pitt.

Pitt's weak point—now that the passions of the day have passed away, and we can judge after the event—was his foreign policy. Like Fox, he was blind to the real nature of the French revolution, and its probable consequences. Even after 1793, when France was overrunning Europe with a propaganda of Jacobin crusaders, Pitt persisted in maintaining that its disruption as a nation, and its fall as a great European power, would be the result of the revolution: and the "same want of accurate perception and of keen sagacity," writes a recent reviewer in the *British Quarterly*, "may be traced in Pitt's subsequent conduct of the contest. Undoubtedly there was a grandeur of conception in his plan of banding all Europe against France, and of crushing her through successive coalitions; nor do we dispute that considerable energy, and an immense amount of British money, were employed in seeking the attainment of those objects. Undoubtedly, in this course of policy, Pitt was following out, on a larger scale, the examples set him by King William and Chatham, who, at different periods, had combined leagues for the purpose of resisting French ambition, in which England took, as a military power, but a secondary part as compared with her allies. Nor can we deny that the obstacles to success in the path of Pitt were infinitely greater than those which beset his illustrious predecessor, inasmuch as, for instance, Moreau and Napoleon were different far from Richelieu and Soubise; and the stern republicans of the army of Italy were very unlike the unwillingly impressed peasants who bled at the bidding of Villars and Luxembourg. But admitting all this, it is now evident that Pitt committed a terrible mistake in opposing mere dynastic coalitions to the energy of the French republic; and, at least, when he had become aware of the hollow support which Prussia and Austria were giving to the cause of the alliance, he should have brought more prominently forward the force of England as a military nation. It is impossible to doubt, that had he possessed the creative genius of a real war minister, he would, even from the outset of a strife which had little resemblance with previous wars, have made England as formidable on land as would have befitted her rank as a European power; and that when a succession of humiliating

reverses, or of selfish and timid traffickings with the enemy, had disclosed the moral impotence of the allies, he would have so augmented our armies as to render them able to cope with her antagonists. This, however, was not the course he pursued; and the result was, that though, at sea, the glory of England was fully sustained, her renown on land was made to depend on the feeble schemes of a timid coalition; that her army, though always giving proof of the true metal of British soldiers, was exposed to a series of petty reverses; and that, after a series of wonderful triumphs, Napoleon, at the head of the French revolution, became paramount in five-sixths of Europe. Add to this, that Pitt appears to have been unable to find out a single capable commander. He entrusted our forces to the Duke of York, long after his incompetence had been proved; and even his best selection, Lord Cornwallis, was not employed by him in active service."

Pitt and his government were popular all the while. There can be no mistake about that. He was hailed, in England and Europe, as the inflexible foe of the French revolution. A good deal of fault has been found with his mode of governing at this period; and he has been represented as carried away into wild excesses by his sharp mode of crushing free opinion. It cannot be denied that several acts of his government were infringements on our general liberties; that not a few of Lord Eldon's prosecutions were hardly creditable to British justice; and that some occurrences which took place in Scotland at the first outbreak of the French revolution, were marked with cruelty and contempt of right. We are disposed to admit that Pitt did show a blamable indifference to remonstrance on these subjects, and that he, in some cases, overrated the alleged Jacobin tendencies of the persons against whom he directed these severities. But when we bear in mind the insidious means employed by the French republicans to corrupt public opinion in this country; the indignation which was generally felt against what were called French principles; the pressure unquestionably put upon Pitt for harsher measures, we must mitigate the judgment which we should otherwise be ready to express. It is certain that, by the mass of the nation, he was considered rather lukewarm than otherwise in suppressing treason; that had he attempted to restrain their impulse in favour of strong measures, he would have been driven from office; and that at no time was he so well supported as when advocating the suppression of seditious tendencies.

The Irish policy of Pitt was inherited from his illustrious father. Before the close of the reign of George II., the attention of Chatham had been drawn to the wretched condition of the Irish nation, which, rent with hostile races and sects, divided by cruel legislation, was at once the scorn and the reproach of the empire. His object was to remove these evils by a thorough assimilation of England and Ireland, and by a union of their legislatures; but jealousy and faction prevented his carrying out the idea. Pitt the younger was enabled to effect it, though under circumstances unfavourable to the issue. His scheme was not merely a legislative union; but it was accompanied with a plan to admit the Roman Catholic Irish to the full rights of British citizenship, and to get rid of the numerous disabilities which kept them in a degrading state of humiliation. Unhappily, of this scheme Pitt carried but half. Owing to the obstinacy of George III. it was not attended by the religious emancipation which the Roman Catholics had been led to expect. A train of misfortunes and evils was the result, visible even at the present day. Pitt is responsible, to a great extent, for this; for although, doubtless, he resigned office in consequence of his failure on the Catholic question, he should, as he might very easily have done, compelled the king to consent to the measure, and not have supported the feeble ministry which was formed afterwards on opposite principles.

Pitt inherited from his father an unreasoning reverence for the caprices and personal wishes of his sovereign. It was not only on the Catholic question he displayed it. In excluding Fox from the cabinet, merely to please the king, the failing was manifest again. Such a course is in violation of the first duties



of a constitutional statesman. It is not clear that Pitt was the renegade some considered him; candour must own that his change of opinion was owing solely to a change of circumstances—a change which fully warranted resistance to any innovation in a time of revolution: and, rightly understood, the whole conduct of Pitt, however fluctuating and tortuous, was, throughout, consistent with his natural character. He distinctly perceived the perilous mischief of oligarchy in the state; more than once he endeavoured to change the representation in the House of Commons on the liberal and popular side. He was also strongly opposed to the relation then existing between the established and the nonconformist churches; and, impressed with the spirit of religious liberty, he contemplated not only Catholic emancipation, but complete relief to Protestant dissenters. The same wise and progressive spirit directed much of his earlier internal administration. He wished to make the action of parliament more generous to the humbler classes; and it is known that he disapproved extremely of our old, barbarous criminal law, of a vicious poor-law, and such like. As for external affairs, he was a genuine free-trader. He broke up a good deal of the monopoly by which our commerce had been afflicted; and it is certain that his object was to emancipate, gradually, our colonial system from strict dependence on the home government. Pitt will live in history, not as the bigot and terrorist his blind partisans endeavour to make him out to have been, but as a rare character, who, by genius and happy accidents, acquired the lead of the House of Commons, and kept the position for many years, in virtue of his lofty magnanimity, his consummate skill in parliamentary management, and his great capacity as a debater. Coleridge, who was in the House as a reporter when Pitt was leader there, describes his oratory as wonderfully effective. In this character (though we have few means of forming a judgment now), there cannot be a doubt that he was not surpassed, and hardly equalled, by any one of his contemporaries. If his reasoning was not always particularly cogent—if his declamation was not always weighty—if he had little of the gorgeous diction of Burke, or even of the manly logic of Fox—he was so skilled in luminous statements, his arguments were so admirably marshalled, and his language was so inspiring and sonorous, that nothing could exceed the effect he produced; while in all the artistic accessories of oratory, the modulation of voice, and dignity of manner, he was certainly unapproached in his generation.

Wilberforce was the friend, especially in early life, of Pitt. The testimony of Wilberforce to the character of Pitt may be relied on. In the life of the philanthropist we find the following:—"Though less famed for general popularity than Fox, Pitt, when free from shyness, and amongst his intimate companions, was the very soul of merriment and conversation. He was the wittiest man I ever knew; and, what was quite peculiar to himself, had at all times his wit under entire control: others appeared struck by the unwonted association of brilliant images; but every possible combination of ideas seemed present to his mind, and he could at once produce whatever he desired. I was one of those who met to spend an evening in memory of Shakespeare, at the 'Boar's Head,' Eastcheap. Many professed wits were present; but Pitt was the most amusing of the party, and the readiest and most apt in the required allusions. He entered with the same energy into all our different amusements. We played a good deal at Goosetrees; and I well remember the intense earnestness which he displayed when joining in those games of chance." Wilberforce mentions his liability to being deceived and led away by other people, as a weakness in Pitt's character. He placed too much reliance on the honesty and honour of those around him. Hence it was that his private affairs were in such a bad state, and that he died in debt. "I have heard, not without surprise," wrote Mr. Wilberforce, after Pitt's death, "that his debts are considerable: a sum was named as large as £40,000 or £50,000. This must have been roguery; for he really had not, for many years, lived at the rate of more than £5,000 or £6,000 per annum. I do

not say this lightly; and he has had an income, since he got the Cinque Ports, of £10,000 per annum." We know that Mr. Robert Smith, who was requested by Pitt to look into the state of his affairs in 1786 (which even then were somewhat embarrassed), was of a similar opinion. Pitt trusted too much to others. This was the cause of his poverty, and it was also the cause of a policy, as regards foreign affairs, which, it must be admitted by posterity, was the one great mistake of his life. "I am myself persuaded," writes Wilberforce, "that the war with France, which lasted so many years, and occasioned such an immense expense of blood and treasure, would never have taken place but for Mr. Dundas' influence with Mr. Pitt, and his persuasion that we should be able, and promptly, at a small expense of money and men, to take the French West India Islands, and to keep them when peace should be restored—in truth, but for the persuasion that the war would soon be over. Mr. Burke had formed a very different judgment; and when, being present with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, the latter exclaimed—'Well, Mr. Burke, we must go to war, for it will be a very short war;' Mr. Burke replied—'You must, indeed, go to war; but you are greatly mistaken in thinking it will be soon over; it will be a very long war, and a dangerous war, but it is unavoidable.' The British ministers," continues Mr. Wilberforce, "had no intention whatever, at this time, of dispossessing France of any of her continental dominions; and as for conquering France, Mr. Fox himself could not more consider it an utter impossibility than they did. They by no means shared in Mr. Burke's persuasions concerning the proper object and nature of the war." Mr. Pitt was, in reality, blind to the future when he plunged the nation into war. He was led away against his own better judgment. War with France was popular; and the son of the great Chatham, who had humbled the pride of France, had an hereditary feeling in favour of such a war. It required very little persuasion to get Mr. Pitt to engage in such a war; and as that war failed of its object—as it tended neither to secure France for the Bourbons, or define for the future the map of Europe—as it hindered, at home, all social, and moral, and political reform, as we have already indicated—as regards his external policy, and in his character of foreign minister, Mr. Pitt must be considered to have failed. It was not thought so at the time, but it will be in all time to come.

A few calm, clear-thinking, long-headed men, even then protested against the idolatry with which Pitt was regarded. On one occasion, Sir Samuel Romilly—to the great grief of Wilberforce—endeavoured to convince the House of Commons that it was requisite to find some stronger argument for a measure than the simple statement that a similar course had been sanctioned by Mr. Pitt. "Among the observations that I made," writes Sir Samuel, "I said it did not acquire additional authority with me from being a precedent established by Mr. Pitt; that I was not among the worshippers of Mr. Pitt's memory; that he was undoubtedly a man of the most splendid and extraordinary talents; but that much more was, in my opinion, necessary to entitle a minister to the character of a great man; and that, with all the talents Mr. Pitt possessed, and the great influence which he had so long enjoyed, I looked in vain for any acts of his administration by which he had increased the happiness, or improved the condition, of any portion of his fellow-subjects. These observations," adds Sir Samuel, "were very unpleasant to many of my political friends, as a sort of compact had been made by many persons never to say anything disrespectful of Mr. Pitt's memory."

Pitt's second in command was Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. Perhaps he had more influence over Pitt than any one else; and the latter was shocked, indeed, when his friend and companion was charged with peculation, by a report presented to the House of Commons. There was a loud outcry for the impeachment of Lord Melville. It was the fashion, in those days, for people in office to acquire great wealth. Fox's father, it was always considered, had managed to take care of himself in a manner which did not evince a very high sense of honour on his part. George Rose, who had begun life without a sixpence, but who, after attracting the atten-



tion of Pitt, had become very wealthy, confessed to Wilberforce that some strange job had come under his notice; and people were quite ready to believe all that, in the heat of passion, was urged against Henry Dundas. It was moved in the House of Commons that an address should be presented to his majesty, praying him to remove for ever Lord Melville from his councils and presence: but, in the meantime, he had wisely resigned. Melville subsequently was impeached, and acquitted by the Lords. He denied having embezzled any of the public money, but refused to give any account as to the way in which secret service money had been applied. As Melville had the management of Scotch elections for Mr. Pitt, the public were not slow in forming conclusions. "Melville," writes Wilberforce, "had not mentioned the matter to Pitt, Huskisson, or any human being till the report was printed." No one wished for it more anxiously than Mr. Pitt. Wilberforce was with the latter when the report came out. "I shall never forget the way in which he seized it, and how eagerly he looked into the leaves, without waiting even to cut them open." The report in question distinctly convicted Mr. Trotter, Lord Melville's deputy-paymaster, of a misapplication of the public money, and warranted a strong conviction that he had acted with the connivance of his principal. Public character evidently required that such officers should be dealt with on the strictest rules of justice. But party spirit thrust itself upon the seat of judgment; opposition seized eagerly so fair an opportunity for unseating government; and Mr. Pitt was tempted to act the part of an advocate rather than a judge. Mr. Wilberforce vainly pressed upon him a more becoming line of conduct. "Bankes and I saw him on Melville's business; we talked with him above an hour. Bankes very frank, and Pitt very good-natured. It is melancholy to see Pitt's excellent understanding so befooled by less worthy associates. He evidently thinks that it may shake the government; thinks gaining time, for men's minds to cool, may do much." And Pitt was right. By delay an official is sure ultimately to be acquitted. The public becomes weary, and the accused has every chance in his favour. The charges against Dundas were made in the Commons. He was acquitted by the peers.

The leader of the opposition was Charles James Fox. "Fox," said old Sam Johnson, "is a most extraordinary man. Here is a man [describing him in terms which Boswell was afraid to give] who has divided the kingdom with Cæsar; so that it was a doubt whether the nation should be ruled by the sceptre of George III. or the tongue of Fox." Gibbon says Fox discovered powers for regular debate which neither his friends hoped nor his enemies dreaded. His force as a professed orator was conspicuously displayed in Westminster Hall, on the trial of Warren Hastings; but the triumph of his talents is to be found in those masterly replies to his antagonists, in which cutting sarcasm, logical acuteness, and metaphysical subtlety, were so combined as to surpass all that modern experience had witnessed. Johnson was his bitter foe; and yet Johnson was compelled to speak of him in the terms we have quoted. We next give the testimony of a friend. "Fox, as an orator," said Godwin, "seemed to come immediately from the forming hand of nature. His eloquence was as impetuous as the current of the river Rhone. Nothing could arrest its course. Though, on all great occasions, he was throughout energetic, yet it was by sudden flashes and emanations that he electrified the heart, and shot through the blood of his hearers. I have seen his countenance brighten up with more than mortal ardour and goodness. I have been present when his voice has been suffocated with the sudden bursting forth of a flood of tears." The following anecdote will set the intuitive quickness of Mr. Fox's parts in a strong light. On the day of the debate on the Test and Corporation Acts, Dr. Rees waited on Mr. Fox with a deputation, to engage his support in their cause. He received them courteously; but though a friend to religious liberty, was evidently unacquainted with the strong points and principal bearings of their peculiar case. He listened attentively to their exposition; and, with an eye that looked them *through and through*, put four or five searching questions. They

withdrew, after a short conference; and as they walked up St. James's Street, Mr. Fox passed them, booted, as if going to take air and exercise. From the gallery they saw him enter the House with whip in hand, as if just dismounted. When he rose to speak, he displayed such a mastery of his subject, his arguments and illustrations were so various, his views so profound and statesman-like, that a stranger must have imagined the question at issue, between the high church party and the dissenters, to have been the main subject of his study. Fox's test of a speech was, "Does it read well?" If so, it was a bad speech. Unfortunately, this is the case; and, unhappily, no man suffered in this respect more than Fox himself. We have his speeches to read; they seem to us, comparatively speaking, poor. We are not fascinated with them as we are with those of Burke. We miss all that made those speeches a terror to his foes, when they were delivered in a crowded and admiring House. "To speak of him justly as an orator," says Sir James Mackintosh, "would require a long essay. Everywhere natural, he carried into public something of that simple and negligent exterior which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even a consummate judge could only have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no sooner had he spoken for some time than he was changed into another being. He forgot himself and everything around him. He thought only of his subject. His genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and convictions. He certainly possessed, above all moderns, that union of reason, simplicity, and vehemence, which formed the prince of orators. He was the most Demosthenian speaker since the days of Demosthenes." "I knew him," says Mr. Burke, in a pamphlet, written after their unhappy difference, "when he was nineteen, since which time he has risen, by slow degrees, to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw."

If Pitt was a contrast to the first consul of France, our George III. was a still greater one. While Bonaparte was attitudinising before all Europe, our "Farmer George" rode about the country (as Charles Knight tells us in his *Memoirs*, and as Peter Pindar satirically described in verse), peering into all the cottages, gossiping with labourers, catechising ploughboys, or lecturing housewives. Hundreds of stories were written about him, and his simple, thrifty ways. As we read, and perhaps laugh at them, we cannot help feeling, that although his demeanour was undignified, and his temper stubborn, he was an Englishman in his homely kindness and downright honesty. The nation loved to hear how he once turned a bit of meat in an old woman's cottage with a string, and left behind him five guineas to buy a jack; how he patted a little boy who refused to kneel to the queen, lest he should spoil his new breeches; how he blew out the candles at the card-tables to save the ends; how, one morning, he walked to Gloucester new bridge, with a crowd of country bumpkins at his heels, and had a "hurray" there; how he loved to show himself to his people at Windsor terrace on Sunday afternoons; how he had a kindly word for all there—high or low—bishops and deans—lawyers and statesmen, and the hungry mob of pensioners and placemen. What a pleasant picture is that Miss Burney gives of the royal family making their after-dinner progress round the terrace. "It was really a mighty pretty procession. The little Princess Amelia, just turned of three years old, in a robed coat covered with fine muslin, a dressed close cap, with gloves and fan, walked on alone, and first, highly delighted with the parade, and turning from side to side, to see everybody as she passed; for all the terracers stand up against the walls, to make a clear passage for the royal family the moment they come in sight. Then followed the king and queen, no less delighted with the joy of their little darling; the princess-royal leaning on Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave; the Princess Augusta holding by the Duchess of Ancaster; the Princess Elizabeth, led by Lady Charlotte Bertie, followed in sight of Mrs. Delany. The king instantly stopped to speak to her; the queen, of course,



and the little princesses, and all the rest, stood still. They talked a good while with the sweet old lady; during which time the king, once or twice, addressed me. I caught the queen's eye, and saw in it a little surprise, but by no means any displeasure, to see me of the party. The little princess went up to Mrs. Delany, of whom she is very fond, and behaved like a little angel to her. She then, with a look of inquiry and recollection, came behind Mrs. Delany, to look at me. 'I am afraid,' said I, in a whisper, 'your royal highness does not remember me.' Her answer was an arch little smile, and a nearer approach, with her lips pouted out, to kiss me." Is not this a pretty picture. No wonder Farmer George was popular. What a pity that he did not bring up his sons a little better!

The best explanation of his popularity is that given by Sir Samuel Romilly. He evidently thought posterity would be puzzled to find much virtue in the man whom his people learned so much to admire. Sir Samuel, writing in 1809, says—"From the beginning of his reign, to the close of the American war, he was one of the most unpopular princes that ever sat upon the throne; and now he is one of the most popular; and yet in nothing is the character or spirit of his government altered. When the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox took place, the tide turned in his favour. A very general and very just indignation was excited in the public when they saw those two statesmen renouncing all their inveterate political animosities, and forming what seemed a confederacy against the nation, and when they saw them supported in this, against the people, by their own representatives in parliament. The fatal effects of that measure have been long, and are still felt. The king's joining the people on so important an occasion, against his ministers and against the parliament, laid the foundation of his popularity. Then followed an attempt upon his life by a maniac; then the irregularities and dissipation of the prince destined to be his successor; next, his own unfortunate derangement of mind, and the dread which the public entertained of the government which they saw about to take place, with the prince for regent, and for his ministers, the heads of the coalition, who had already claimed for him the regency upon grounds the most unconstitutional; then his joyful recovery when it was least expected, which dispelled, in a moment, the gloom which hung over the country; and, last of all—but which added to every motive of endearment to the king—the horrors of the French revolution; the sufferings of the royal family; the debasement of the nobles; the confiscation of the property of the rich; the persecution of the clergy; the national bankruptcy, and all those various evils which it produced, and which gave almost every description of persons who have any influence on public opinion, an interest to adhere to, and maintain inviolably, our established constitution, and, above all, the monarchy, as inseparably connected with, and maintaining, everything valuable in the state.

In 1800, Fox would have made peace with France; but the opposition were neither popular with parliament, king, nor people.

We now return to France.

At the period of which we write, Russia formed nominally a part of the triple alliance established against France; the other powers being Austria and England. Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey had also joined the league; and on the 16th of March, Bavaria entered into the alliance, by means of a treaty concluded with Mr. Wickham, our envoy to the German states. By this treaty the Elector agreed to furnish 12,000 troops, in addition to the contingent which he was bound to supply as member of the Germanic empire. Similar treaties were concluded, by the same minister, with the Duke of Würtemberg on the 12th, and with the Elector of Mayence on the 30th of April; each agreeing to furnish 6,000 troops to join the army employed against France. The expense of the recruiting, equipment, and maintenance of these troops was to be borne by England; and whilst their dominions were guaranteed, the princes were bound not to enter into any separate treaty. Baron de Kray, commander of the Austrian forces, had 150,000 men under

his command: his second was Archduke Ferdinand. In Italy the Austrians had at least 120,000 men, under General Baron de Milas, an officer of high reputation. This army was supported by an English fleet, under Lord Keith; an auxiliary corps of 20,000 English troops was encamped at Minorca, under General Abercromby; and we also blockaded Malta. The plan of the campaign, on the part of the allies, was for the army under Marshal Kray to watch Switzerland, whilst General Milas blockaded Genoa, and captured it, if it were possible; then to cross the Apennines and Var, and march upon Toulon, where it was expected a body of royalists would join them. As the allies advanced on the Var, it was hoped that the French would be drawn from the Rhine.

The position of the French army was apparently critical; but the first consul was equal to the emergency. To divert attention from himself, he removed Berthier from his post of Minister of War; nominated him commander-in-chief of the army of reserve at Dijon, and put Carnot in his place. The latter part of the month of March, and all April, were employed in recruiting the army, and in planning where it would be required. On the 1st of May, the first consul informed his colleagues that he was going to Dijon to inspect the army of reserve, but that he would not be long absent. Napoleon only stayed at Dijon one night; the next day he was travelling rapidly to Geneva. Arrived at Lausanne, Carnot joined the first consul, and brought intelligence of the successes obtained by Moreau in Germany, and the information that he would detach 15,000 or 20,000 to descend on Italy by Mount St. Gothard, in order to form the left wing of the first consul's army. This was what was wanted. Forward! was the word, and soon all were in motion for the Alps.

On the nights of the 14th and 15th of May, the advance guard, under General Lannes, commenced the passage of the Great St. Bernard, one of the chief mountain passes on the Pennine Alps, between the Swiss Valais and Piedmont. On the 16th, the main army was at the foot of the mountain, and the first consul slept that night at the convent of St. Maurice. The following day the march began, and continued till the 20th—one division crossing each day. Some part of the ascent was exceedingly laborious and difficult; but the men sang warlike songs, and encouraged each other. The band of each regiment played at the head. When any particularly steep part was encountered, a charge was sounded, and thus the martial spirit of the troops was not suffered to give way. The cannon were dragged up the ascent by the men of the different corps—a hundred being attached to each gun—who were relieved every half mile. On reaching the hospital St. Bernard, there was an hour's halt, and the benevolent monks doled out to each soldier a ration of bread and cheese and wine: then they passed on, the most toilsome part of the passage being over. From town, fort, and plain, the French drove the Austrians away. They were only just in time—Genoa had succumbed to the allies.

On the 29th of July the first consul entered Milan, and soon after was fought the battle of Marengo. This was one of the most important victories Bonaparte had ever gained: if he had lost it, he would have lost France. When the Austrian commander, Baron de Milas, retired to his quarters and considered the position of his army, he found that the losses he had sustained were irreparable, and he solicited an armistice, which was agreed to by Bonaparte, whose position was not much more favourable. The negotiations for peace, which ensued, fell through.

An armed neutrality was the device of Bonaparte at this period. The interests of the northern powers—Russia, Sweden and Denmark—were directly opposed to the maritime code which England maintained as part of the law of nations. They contended that trade should be as free in war as in peace, except for articles technically termed contraband of war—that is, such as are actually used in warlike operations; and that flags should cover the goods—that is, merchandise of belligerents may be conveyed from place to place in neutral ships. These demands England would not



yield. She claimed the right of search with respect to neutral vessels, to enable her cruisers to ascertain whether those vessels had merchandise belonging to belligerents on board; and if that were the case, then she claimed the right of confiscation. During the American war in 1780, Catherine II., of Russia, formed a northern league to resist the claims and practice of England; and, in 1800, the Emperor Paul, greatly pleased with Bonaparte for sending home the Russian prisoners at the instigation of France, suggested the league known as the Armed Neutrality; and although Denmark was obliged, by the presence of an English force, to sign a convention on the 24th of August, by which the right of search was for the time conceded, she ultimately joined the league, which was not formally organised till the 16th of December. In the meantime Paul refused to listen to the entreaties of Austria to aid her in resisting the progress of a power which threatened to annihilate the independence of Europe; and Frederick William of Prussia also persisted in his system of neutrality, till, in December, he joined the league of the armed neutrality. The formation of this league in Europe was preceded by the signing of preliminaries for a treaty between the first consul and the United States of America. The terms were, that the alliance should continue eight years, during which time certain modifications were to be made in the right of search; commerce was to be free between the two countries; and the captures that had, up to that time, been made on either side were to be restored, except such as were contraband.

France rejoiced at the resumption of war. Since the overthrow of the Directory her condition had been one of great improvement. The first consul had given every one liberty to observe what holidays he pleased, and Sunday came to be again generally regarded. Trade was brisk, and, for the first time since 1790, the fund-holders received a dividend. Bonaparte had also rendered himself still more popular by removing to the Invalides, with much pomp and ceremony, the body of the great Turenne.

The campaign commenced in the north, where the battle of Hohenlinden was won by the French under Moreau: the result was an armistice. In Italy, also, the French were successful. The Austrians gave up Peschiera, Verona, Legnago, Ancona, and Ferrara, but retained Mantua, much to the displeasure of Bonaparte.

On the 15th of September Malta surrendered to the British blockading force.

On the 1st of January, 1801, a royal proclamation was published in the *London Gazette*, announcing the future style and title of the sovereign, as George II., by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith; the title of King of France being laid aside. No disposition was, however, shown by the English government to waver in its opposition to the aggressive policy of the first consul; which, at this time, was peculiarly threatening. Against us were allied the fleets of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and France; the Dutch and Spanish fleets were also at the disposal of the first consul, who, in three weeks after the league of the armed neutrality was signed, obtained the control also of the Neapolitan ships of war.

Mr. Pitt was prepared for the emergency. A fleet was collected at Yarmouth, to proceed to the Baltic, and crush the league before the various fleets of the enemy could be collected together. This fleet consisted of seventeen sail of the line, carrying seventy-four and fifty guns; four frigates, four sloops, two fire-ships, and seven bombs. The command was given to Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson being the second in command. On the 2nd of April, all attempts at negotiation having failed, an attack was made on Copenhagen. The command of the attacking squadron was given to Nelson. It consisted of twelve out of the seventeen ships of the line, and all the frigates, fire-ships and bomb-vessels that accompanied the squadron. The attack was successful. After fighting four hours the fire of the batteries was silenced, and seventeen ships struck their colours. Negotiations

were then resumed; a suspension of hostilities followed, and the armed neutrality was virtually dissolved.

The very day that the conditions of the armistice were agreed on, intelligence reached Copenhagen of the assassination of Paul, the Emperor of Russia. The blow fell heavily on Bonaparte. His cherished scheme was to attack the British possessions in India. Twenty-five thousand Russian troops, and 50,000 Cossacks, were to have joined the French army, and a passage through Persia had been secured.

In another quarter, also, calamity fell upon the French. Bonaparte had left behind him a large army in Egypt. An expedition had been sent by Mr. Pitt to capture it: the expedition was completely successful. On the 21st of March the decisive battle of Alexandria was fought: other successes were gained by the British, and the French generals had to capitulate. Junot affirms that the first consul's design was to have made that country the point from which the thunderbolt should issue which was to overwhelm the British empire. When the news of the capitulation reached him, he exclaimed—"Junot, we have lost Egypt. My projects and my dreams have alike been destroyed by England." Junot remained with him two hours after the intelligence arrived; and the Duchess d'Abrantes informs us that he wept like a child whenever he recounted what passed during the time.

Another piece of unwelcome news for the first consul, was the fact that the new Emperor of Russia had been persuaded to sign a treaty with England, by which all the principles of the armed neutrality were abandoned.

In England a new administration had been formed. "The king and his cabinet," writes Wilberforce in February, 1801, "have quarrelled concerning the emancipation, as it is called, of the Roman Catholics. The king had been very poorly, and much agitated. At the *levée* in January, the king said to Dundas, 'What is this that this young lord has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head?' (Lord C. came over with the plan in September). 'I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who proposes any such measure. The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of.' 'You'll find,' replied Dundas, 'among those who are friendly to that measure, some you never supposed your enemies.'" Pitt gave way, and was succeeded by Addington. More peaceful counsels were expected from the new administration. On the 21st of March, soon after his accession to office, Lord Hawkesbury, who had succeeded Lord Grenville as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, intimated to M. Otto the desire of England to terminate the war; and, as the first consul professed to be equally anxious for that event, an interchange of terms took place, which at that time led to no result. For several months couriers passed backwards and forwards; but neither party were inclined to recede from the terms that had been offered; and in the midst of his negotiations, Bonaparte commenced arrangements to invade England. His preparations of gun-boats, artillery, and men, had been made on the most extensive scale. Of course they attracted the attention of our government, and Nelson made a vain attempt to capture the invading flotilla. A fair wind for thirty-six hours was what Bonaparte required: that was not granted him. Whilst he was waiting for it, Robert Fulton made his appearance at Paris, and offered to the government the means of transporting its fleet across the channel, in the face of wind and tide, by means of steam. The plan was rejected by the *savans*, to whom Bonaparte referred it, as visionary and impracticable.

In October, the preliminaries of peace between France and England were signed. England agreed to give back to France Spain, and Holland all her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad. Egypt was to be evacuated by the British and French forces, and restored to the Porte. The island of Malta was also to be evacuated by the English troops, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The integrity of the Porte was guaranteed. France agreed to evacuate the harbours of Rome and Naples, and England to give up Porta Ferrajo. A com-



pensation was provided for the House of Nassau. A new republic was created of the seven Ionian Islands, and the fisheries of Newfoundland were restored to the situation in which they were before the war. Amiens was selected by the two governments as the place where the terms of the definitive treaty should be considered. Lord Cornwallis was appointed plenipotentiary for England, and Joseph Bonaparte for France. On the 27th of March, 1802, the terms were finally agreed on, and the definitive treaty signed. The English ministry got no little credit by it. Wilberforce writes—"Opposition is melting away manifestly; Grey gone out of town; Tierney has declared himself friendly; Erskine and Lord Moira ditto. Only Fox and Sheridan still where they were, probably because Addington could not receive them. Pitt supports most magnanimously, and assists in every way. Addington goes on well; is honest and respectable, and improves in speaking." Nevertheless, an angry debate took place in parliament on the subject of the peace; but the government was supported in the Lords by 122 to 16, and in the Commons by 276 to 20. The London mob rejoiced, and windows were illuminated. Cobbett would not light up, and "the good-natured mob," as Wilberforce termed it, broke his windows. "The poor Porcupine's windows have been smashed for not rejoicing as you and I do," writes Mr. Bankes; "people are shocked by a want of sympathy—*ridentibus arident*. However, he was not bound to rejoice, but he should have illuminated."

Let us note briefly a few items of social improvement. The sum of £10,500 was voted to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to extirpate the small-pox. The controversy on that subject is now exhausted; but, while it raged, no terms of reproach and abuse were too strong to be employed against the humane doctor. Medical men and clergymen were very severe against the absurdity and impiety of the new scheme; and such conduct as theirs must have taught Lord Palmerston—we must remember he became Lord Palmerston this year, by the death of his father—the importance of looking at all questions, not with the eyes of interested parties, or timid defenders of things as they are, but from a broad, elevated, and rational point of view. We may be sure that the lesson was not lost upon his lordship. At this time, also, a reward of £1,200 was voted to Henry Greathead for the invention of the life-boat; and £5,000 to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, for his discovery of the nitrous fumigation for preventing the progress of contagious disorders. The discovery was brought under the notice of Mr. Wilberforce, who thought it worthy of a parliamentary reward. "He had transferred," says his son, "to other hands the conduct of Dr. Jenner's application, because he was a common hack in such matters; but for Dr. Smyth he could find no other patron; and he therefore undertook the task himself, and devoted to it many hours in every week throughout the session." About this time, also, people began legislating for the factory children. Sir Robert Peel did not go far enough. Wilberforce writes—"I have received a letter from a poor, but honest and hard-working couple, whose child was barbarously torn from them, and sent down to a distant cotton-mill. I have since conversed with these people, and seldom have heard a more artless, affecting tale than that they related." This was another question which the future statesman would have to consider. We shall find, in later times, a considerable amount of dissatisfaction and agitation relative to factory manners, morals, and health.

Very short-lived was this peace. Visitors returning from Paris, describe the state of affairs there as warlike. Wilberforce writes in his diary—"In spite of so much bitter experience, there is still a proneness in statesmen to form grand schemes of continental policy; and there is, in the people of every country, a fatal facility of entering into wars, though they so soon tire of them." "I own," he writes to Mr. Babington, "that I more and more think that it is our true policy to cultivate our internal resources—to gain the hearts of our people—to economise our expenditure, while we lighten the pressure of taxes on the lower orders, and lay them, if

needful, even more heavily on the higher. Endeavours should also be used to revive and excite public spirit; for in this, as in many other cases, it is dangerous to have people in a state of cold neutrality. They must be warmly your friends, or they will be your enemies. Above all, the interval of peace should be used as a golden period, to be diligently improved for the reformation of our morals, by training up the children of the lower orders in virtuous habits, and in dispositions friendly to the peace of society, and to the maintenance of civil and religious institutions. *Hæ tibi erunt artes.*"

We know now that the peace of Amiens was intended for little more than an armed truce. In his instructions to Talleyrand, Bonaparte confessed as much. He spoke of it as a measure only necessary that he might restore and recruit his navy. He intimated that his hope was, to be enabled so to concentrate the naval powers of Europe, that they might all be brought to bear upon this country, whose power and influence he trusted then to destroy by another battle of Actium. In all his relations with the British cabinet, Bonaparte displayed an intense and insupportable pride. First to Otto, and afterwards to General Andreossi, he sent instructions to complain of the freedom of those animadversions which the public writers of Great Britain passed on his character and conduct; and those complaints were reiterated, as well by Talleyrand as by the first consul himself, to Lord Whitworth, who, in November, 1802, repaired to Paris as ambassador to the French Court. He could not be persuaded that the British government was unable to exercise, over the press, the same boundless tyranny which he himself exercised over every public writer. It seemed impossible to make him understand that, in England, the ministers were subject to the same legal restraints as the lowest subject of the realm; that they could proceed only according to the forms of law; and that if what the law deemed a libel should be uttered or written against the first potentate in Europe, he must, in order to punish the offender, have recourse to the same modes of proceeding as those prescribed to Englishmen themselves. In the autumn of 1802, he directed his agent, Otto, to prefer charges against certain English public writers, and against Peltier, a refugee, who conducted a journal published in this country, entitled *L'Ambigu*. Although, as Lord Hawkesbury, in his instructions to Mr. Merry (who was then at Paris), observed, the French press poured forth constant libels against the English government—libels, too, authorised by the French cabinet; although Rheinhardt, the Jacobin representative of Bonaparte at Hamburg, had violated the neutrality of the senate, and had compelled them to insert a most virulent attack upon the English government in the Hamburg paper; and although, to use the words of Lord Hawkesbury, it might, indeed, with truth be asserted that the period which had elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty had been marked with one continued series of aggression, insolence, and insult on the part of the French government—so averse were the British ministers from any conduct which could even have a tendency to produce a renewal of hostilities, that they instructed the Attorney-general to institute a prosecution against Peltier. The cause was tried on the 23rd of February, 1803, and the defendant was convicted; but the renewal of hostilities was allowed to secure him from punishment. At the very time when this trial was pending, the difference between the two governments was such as to render hostilities almost unavoidable. At the latter end of February Lord Whitworth had an interview with Bonaparte, in which the latter so far forgot himself as personally to insult the British ambassador, and to threaten his government in the presence of the whole diplomatic circle. On this occasion he openly avowed his ambitious designs, and clearly developed his views upon Egypt, whither he had despatched Sebastiani, a Corsican officer, in the ostensible character of a commercial agent, to seize every opportunity for promoting French interests in the Levant. He boldly justified his usurpations in Switzerland, Italy, and Piedmont; and peremptorily insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta as a *sine qua non* of continued peace. By the treaty of Amiens, England had stipulated to restore the island,



within a given time, to the order of St. John, under the express guarantee of its independence. Circumstances, however, had arisen tending to destroy the independence of the order itself, which rendered it highly imprudent to carry that article of the treaty into effect. Besides that, stipulation had been made with reference to the relative situation of the contracting parties at the time of concluding the treaty. That situation had acquired a material change by the fresh acquisition of territory which Bonaparte had afterwards made, and by the consequent addition of power which he had secured.

In England, the preparations made in France excited extraordinary zeal. In a very brief interval, upwards of 400,000 volunteers came forward to defend their native coasts.

Ireland made another attempt at revolt, at the instigation of a band of political enthusiasts, at the head of whom was Robert Emmett, a young man of talent. From the first it was a very insignificant affair: yet Emmett and his associates thought that, at the first intimation from them, the whole kingdom would rise. Towards the evening of Saturday, the 23rd of July, the populace of Dublin began to assemble in large numbers, in St. James's Street and its neighbourhood. About nine o'clock men began riding furiously about the streets; a small piece of ordnance was discharged, and a rocket let off. Emmett and his chosen band now sallied forth from their head-quarters, and one of the party shot at, and unhappily killed, a Colonel Browne, who was passing at the time. Lord Viscount Kinwarden, the Irish chief justice, was also assassinated by the mob. In an hour's time the rebellion was put down by 120 soldiers. Emmett and his colleagues were tried, found guilty, and executed.

In France, the Legion of Honour was established; and, at the same time, the return of the French people to the Christian faith was solemnly celebrated. The re-establishment of religion was followed by an attempt, on the part of the first consul, to restore all the inalienated national property to the original proprietors, in which he was only partially successful; but on the 29th of April, 1802, he published a general amnesty, which permitted all exiled Frenchmen to return to their native country, with the exception of the members of the royal family, and a few others. Above 100,000 emigrants, in consequence, returned to France, and to each was restored such parts of his former property as had not been alienated by the state.

Napoleon all the while was preparing the way for an imperial throne. The question was put to the people—"Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be consul for life?" To this interrogatory, 3,368,259 affirmative, and 189,626 negative replies were received. On the 2nd of August he was declared, accordingly, consul for life.

One grand social experiment, instituted by Bonaparte at this time, has done much for the elevation of the poor in France. He destroyed the right of primogeniture. From that time, with an exception subsequently made for those on whom he bestowed hereditary estates, every description of landed property has been equally divided amongst his children at the death of a proprietor. If we are to believe Mr. Kay and Mr. J. Mill—and their arguments seem unanswerable—the gain for France has been immense.

On the 18th of May, General Andreossi, the French ambassador, left England, and war was declared; the declaration being followed, on the 22nd, by a decree from Bonaparte, ordering all British subjects who had visited France on business or pleasure to be detained. In consequence of this decree, between 10,000 and 11,000 men, women, and children were restrained from departure, and lodged in the various prisons of France; and between 1,200 and 1,300 in those of Holland. This last act was a violation of international law and practice, and tended not a little to strengthen the animosity entertained by Englishmen towards the first consul.

It was during this period that one of those acts was committed which stamp Bonaparte's character with ineffable disgrace. The negroes in St. Domingo, availing themselves of the principles of the French revolution, had thrown off the yoke

of slavery, and proclaimed the advent of liberty and equality in that island. Terrible scenes of retribution had taken place. For the cruelties of ages the blacks exacted a fierce and wild revenge. The aid of the English had been called in; but the climate destroyed the troops so fast, that, in 1798, the English abandoned the island, and the blacks again became masters. In the succeeding confusion one man arose who reduced the island to order—Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had ideas of generosity superior to his race. Napoleon was indignant that Toussaint should call himself first consul of St. Domingo, and despatched an armament to put him down. By means of fair promises, Toussaint was induced to place himself within the power of the French, who basely sent him and his family to France, loaded with chains. The blacks were enraged, and, under Christophe, waged a destructive war with the French, who were reinforced by more troops from France, under General Rochambeau. They were all, however, compelled to capitulate. War having again broken out between France and England, Rochambeau and all his squadrons were captured, and carried prisoners to England. In this disastrous and unnecessary expedition, it is supposed that not less than 40,000 French perished in the course of two years. This failure seems to have demonized Bonaparte. The noble but unfortunate Toussaint, on his arrival in France, was thrown into the Temple; while his family were confined in another prison. Toussaint was reserved for a terrible fate. Bonaparte sent him to the castle of Joux, in the highest and coldest region of the Jura Alps. There he was thrown into a dungeon, where, according to the personal inspection of Miss Martineau, who visited it in 1839, the water continually dropped from above, and stood in a pool below; whilst in winter, not mere snow, but flakes of ice penetrated between the bars of the window. The fate of the illustrious captive is involved in secrecy; but it is said that he was furnished only with a litter of straw for his bed, and was found frozen to death in his cell during the winter of 1803. While history records the merits and sufferings of those who deserve well of mankind, the sad tale of Toussaint will be remembered; as Wordsworth, in one of his magnificent odes, writes—

“Thou hast left behind  
Powers that will work for thee—air, earth, and skies;  
There's not a breathing of the common wind  
That will forget thee: thou hast great allies;  
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.”

Another terrible stain was, about this time, inflicted on Bonaparte's character. In 1804, a plot had been discovered, in which Bonaparte saw, or wished to see, a royalist conspiracy against his life. Could he have taken his revenge on Louis, then living at Warsaw, under the protection of the Emperor of Russia; or on the Count d'Artois, or on the Duke de Berri, all safe in London—undoubtedly he would have done so. Fortunately they were safe out of the reach of Bonaparte; but there was another member of the family (though furthest off from the succession), living not far from the French frontiers, and his life Bonaparte determined to take. His victim was Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, at this time nearly in his thirty-second year. He was an amiable and witty Frenchman, of a fine person, and great bravery. When the emigrant army had disbanded, he retired to Ettenheim, in Baden, drawn there by the attractions of the Princess Charlotte de Rohan; and passed his time in her society, in hunting, shooting, &c.

In the middle of the night of the 15th of March, the duke was aroused by finding his *chateau* surrounded by French troops. At first he summoned his servants to resist, and placed himself at their head. Finding this useless, he desisted. He was taken to Strasbourg, and detained till the 18th, when he was hurriedly removed to the fortress of Vincennes.

The next step taken by Bonaparte was an order to Murat, the military governor of Paris, to deliver the duke over to a military tribunal, to consist of seven members, on the charge of being in the pay of England, and engaged in plots against



the republic. Murat said afterwards, that both he and his wife (Bonaparte's sister) were horrified at the charge, and implored the first consul not to incur the crime and odium of the duke's death. This had already been attempted by Josephine, who had, on her knees, implored the first consul to abstain from shedding the duke's blood, which would cause all the world to exclaim against him, and bring down on him the sure judgments of heaven. Their prayers and entreaties were in vain. So determined was Bonaparte to have the murder committed quickly, and without remonstrance from any quarter, that the commission was assembled immediately. The president, Hullin, is said to have gone with a sentence of death ready written in his pocket, and the grave was already dug in the castle ditch.

Awoke from sleep, and hurried before his murderers, the duke acquitted himself nobly. He denied the charge of conspiring to assassinate the first consul. He said he was a Condé by birth, by feeling; by opinion, the eternal enemy of the present government; that no Condé could enter France except with arms in his hands; but that a Condé could never stoop to assassinate, or be the companion of assassins. He said he had not fixed his residence at Ettenheim on account of its vicinity to France; also that he was on the point of removing to Poland when he was thus seized, contrary to the law of nations, Baden being at profound peace with France. He denied, in any way whatever, having any knowledge of, or connection with, Pichegru; or that he had ever been in England; but admitted having received an allowance from that country, as he had nothing else left him. He was then led away; and had so little an idea of the fate that awaited him that he presently fell asleep.

The duke's sleep was not of long duration. The *gens-d'armes* hurried him away. As he felt the cold air, the duke asked Harel, who walked by his side with a lantern, whether they were going to immure him in an *oubliette*?—that is, one of those dungeons in all such old fortresses, into which certain prisoners were thrown, never to come out alive again, but to remain forgotten. On arriving at the ditch, the duke must have at once perceived his doom; for there he saw a grave, and a file of *gens-d'armes*, with their muskets ready to fire.

On the sentence being read, the duke asked for a confessor. "Would you die like a monk?" was the reply. Taking no notice of the insult, he knelt down, and seemed absorbed in devotion. He then rose, cut off a lock of his hair, and handing it, with a gold ring, to an officer, requested that they might be conveyed to the Princess de Rohan. Then, turning to the soldiers, he exclaimed—"I die for my king and France!" and, as they fired, he fell dead, pierced by seven bullets. He was immediately flung into the grave, dressed as he was. A little dog belonging to the duke, which had been allowed to accompany him in the carriage from Germany, laid himself down on the grave when filled in, and remained there, whining for its master. It was carried away, lest it should excite the imagination of the public by the story of its attachment; and, being sold, was for many years preserved by the gentleman who purchased it, in memory of the unhappy victim. A small cross afterwards marked the site of the grave; but the body itself was removed on the restoration of the Bourbons, and deposited, with funeral rites, in the chapel of the castle.

In France, this atrocious murder was hushed up as much as possible; but it filled Europe with horror, and left a stain of disgrace on Bonaparte which can never be washed away. Many were the excuses which he invented—all equally false. At one time he affected to believe that the duke had been in Paris; and then to have discovered, too late, that this was Pichegru: at another time he pretended to believe that the duke had written him a letter from Strasbourg, which Talleyrand, who had been kept ignorant of the whole affair, had wilfully detained from him. It has been fully shown that his victim was not the man to write to Bonaparte for his life. Indeed, all these excuses were rendered impossible by the written orders issued by Bonaparte himself for the duke's arrest, the arrangements for the journey, and the warrant, issued for immediate execution. When, in his last

days, Bonaparte felt that none of these miserable excuses availed him anything, he boldly avowed the deed, and justified it on the ground of state policy. "I caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested and judged, because it was necessary to the security, the honour, and the interest of the French people. In the same circumstances I would act in a similar manner." On another occasion, he said he had only acted on the law of nature. The Bourbons aimed at his existence, and he, in return, at theirs. He forgot that, while they confined themselves to legitimate warfare, he condescended to kidnapping and assassination.

Other horrors followed soon after. Pichegru was found strangled in his prison. The probability is that the act was not suicide, as Pichegru had much to utter if he could have had a chance of a trial. Bonaparte professed to believe his death was the result of suicide. "Pichegru," he said, "saw that his situation was desperate; his daring mind could not endure the infamy of punishment; he despaired of my clemency, or despised it, and put himself to death. Had I been inclined to commit a crime, it is not Pichegru, but Moreau I would have struck." Another murder, or suicide, was committed about this time. Captain Wright, implicated in Pichegru's plot, was found dead in the Temple with his throat cut. What took place there can never be known; but, from words which fell from Captain Wright on his only public examination, and from admissions by Bonaparte himself, there is every reason to believe that he underwent severe treatment. Captain Wright had served under Sir Sidney Smith at Acre—a circumstance sufficient to envenom, as many writers think, the mind of Bonaparte to the utmost against him. Bonaparte, in after-years, speaking of Wright, admitted that he had been threatened with death to extort confessions from him; and Wright, when he was examined on the 2nd of June, on the trial of Georges Cadoudal, had not only refused to answer any interrogations, on the ground that he was a British officer, a prisoner of war, and only answerable to his own government; but when the examinations by the police were read over to him, he said that they had omitted to state their threat to have him shot by a military commission if he did not betray the secrets of his country.

Moreau, Georges Cadoudal, and their fellow-conspirators, were still to be tried. Cadoudal was guillotined, and died as he lived, defying the usurper to the last. With Moreau, Bonaparte did not know what to do. His trial had resulted, in reality, in an acquittal. Bonaparte was equally afraid of keeping a general so beloved and popular in prison, or setting him at liberty. He said that he had long before told him that he would some day run his head against the pillars of the Tuileries; and that now he had done it, it was no fault of Bonaparte's. "Let him sell his property and quit France; that will be the best for all of us," said the first consul. And Moreau took the hint. The government purchased his house and grounds, and he was escorted, by Savory's *gens-d'armes*, to Cadiz, where he was joined by his wife and family, and embarked for the United States, to reappear and aid in the final fall of Bonaparte.

All this while, Bonaparte, by means of his agents, was exciting sympathetic addresses from every part of France, especially from the army. The *Moniteur* was kept actively employed in spreading alarm, and in expressing the unspeakable calamities which would befall France if the great hero and first magistrate of the country was cut off by assassins. These assassins were represented as the hired agents of England; and thus the odium due to himself was diverted in another direction, and fell upon the country which, from the first, had regarded his career with a suspicion and aversion fully justified by events.

There is not the slightest evidence for the charge, made by some French writers, as to the implication of the English government in the plot against the life of Bonaparte. Bourienne, who was secretary to the first consul, positively affirms—and he had all the sources of information at his command—that, "neither in his public character nor private relations, had he ever discovered that the English government was ever engaged in any plots of a dishonourable character."



Elsewhere he says, "that he could affirm, with perfect confidence, that the British government had constantly rejected with indignation—not, indeed, the proposals made to them for overturning the consular or imperial government, but all designs of assassination or personal violence against the first consul or emperor." It is also greatly to the credit of the Bourbons, that, on all occasions, they resisted every offer made to them of taking off those opposed to them in any unfair manner. Many attempts had been made by Napoleon and his agents to involve them in such schemes, but in vain.

## CHAPTER VI.

### FRANCE UNDER THE EMPIRE.

WAR had been declared against England, and the French had already taken possession of Hanover. Their spirit for military glory was again in a fair way of being gratified. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien had intimidated the royalists, and the republicans had lost their leader, Moreau. To be not merely king, but emperor, was the next attempt of the first consul—an attempt, of course, in which he succeeded. On the 21st of April, 1804, a motion to that effect was made in the tribunate; on the 18th of May was passed a *senatus consultum*, conferring the crown on Napoleon and his family for ever. The nation was appealed to; and the result was, 3,572,329 votes in the affirmative; the negatives only amounting to 2,569. Paris was especially delighted with the pomp and ceremony of royalty. The coronation, which took place in Nôtre-Dame on the 2nd of December, was a gorgeous spectacle, the officiating priest being no other than the pope himself, who came to Paris for that very purpose.

At this time Spain heartily joined France; and by a treaty with the Ligurian republic, concluded in October, all the resources of Genoa, the finest naval harbour in the Mediterranean, were placed at the disposal of France. Prussia and Austria viewed the empire with coolness; the czar was unfriendly; and, under his influence, Turkey refused to recognise the emperor. Sweden continued an alliance with England; the latter being allowed to establish a *dépôt* for her German legion, either at Stralsund or on the isle of Rugen.

Bonaparte, as emperor, lost none of his restless activity. A new constitution was given to Holland, which was no longer to be republican: next, he had to make himself King of Italy, and to be invested at Milan with the iron crown; and then there was the grand blow to be struck at England, for which purpose he had collected, at Boulogne, 145,000 men, with 432 pieces of cannon. In the harbour were 1,329 gun-boats, and 954 transport vessels, on board which were 6,000 horses and 3,500 guns. The Toulon squadron, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, put to sea: made first for Carthage, where he found the Spanish fleet blockaded by the English, and unable to join him; and then to Cadiz, whence, reinforced with five Spanish ships, he sailed for the West Indies. There he received instructions from Bonaparte to return to Europe, raise the siege of Ferrol, where there were fifteen ships of the line, and, having effected a junction with them, to go to Rochefort, and join Admiral Missiessy with his five ships of the line; from thence he was to proceed to Brest, where Admiral Gantheaume had twenty-one ships, and, with the combined fleet clear the channel while the invasion of Britain was accomplished. The scheme failed, because, says Napoleon, Villeneuve disobeyed orders; because, say other writers, a continental coalition had been formed against him, and he dared not leave France undefended. The allies were to commence

active operations in four different quarters: the attacks were to be made by English, Russians, and Swedes, from Pomerania, upon Hanover and Holland; by the Austrians and Russians, united, in the valley of the Danube; by the Austrians in Italy; and by the English, Russians, and Neapolitans in Naples.

And all this while, if we may believe Wilberforce, very little attention was paid to the defence of our coast. He writes to Lord Muncester from Eastbourne—"Yet, warned as we are, two or three little shabby privateers, who, as far as we know, had not one cannon between them, came off the coast about a week ago, took four or five vessels close to the land—so near, that when one was captured, even musketry would have reached them; and hovered, for ten or twelve hours, so near as would have forfeited them to the crown under the smuggling acts; yet, though we have above 1,500 troops, a corps of engineers, a fort which must have cost £200,000 or £300,000, flying artillery, &c.; not the hair of the head of a Frenchman was injured, or a feather in his wing disturbed. Where there was a cannon there was no ammunition; where a favourable situation, no cannon: the officers were all out of the way, though the affair lasted so long; and, as for a ship of war, it was a nondescript. I must say, I seldom have been more provoked, than to have thirty or forty poor fellows carried off into a French goal, when the slightest preparation for resistance, by those who are paid and maintained for the sole purpose of resistance, would have prevented all the mischief." Again, writing from Sandgate, he says—"About a mile from us begins a canal, which was begun when the alarm concerning invasion was most generally prevalent: it runs parallel with the shore about twenty-five miles; but I never yet talked with any military man who conceived that it would oppose any serious obstacle to an enemy, who, besides the ease with which it might be crossed by portable bridges, might tap it without difficulty: certainly its merits are far too deep to be discerned by unmilitary eyes. Seriously, I am told that £2,000,000 sterling must have been expended in fortifying this part of the coast. \* \* \* The number of martello towers is very great; but unfortunately, instead of being composed of such massive blocks of stone or marble as defied our attack, and returned the fire of our ships with interest, at Corsica—for that was our model—they are built of brick; and I am assured the first cannon-shot would beat a hole in them; and the centre being broken down or weakened, the twenty-four-pounder would fall through with its own weight, and bury itself in the ruins." On another occasion, Wilberforce indignantly describes the disgraceful capture of an English vessel while he was staying at Sandgate. "A merchant vessel lying just under the signal-post, in perfect security, because no indication was given of an enemy being at sea, was boarded without resistance, and carried into Calais by a privateer, which had been in sight for full four hours, and was known all the time to be an enemy—because the commanding officer at the signal-post was absent partridge-shooting. He would not have been so much to blame, but that he knew, what all hereabouts know, that when the wind blows strong from the south-west, the ships of war that protect that part of the channel are forced to bear away for the next bay, between Dungeness and Beachy Head. Really it is too bad to think of several of our poor fellows—or even if they were not English, which we know not—being carried to prison, &c., &c., through the scandalous negligence of the officer, at the very time when he must have known he was bound to be peculiarly vigilant. It struck me immediately that the underwriters should have been set on government. When the merchant vessel was boarded, a gentleman—who, with two or three hundred, was on Folkestone pier, witnessing the whole—told me that there was an indignant groan. Also the officers who had charge of the guns, and had all ready for firing (and, if the merchant vessel had been alarmed, she certainly would have got away), would not fire, alleging, from what passed on a former occasion, that if they fired without orders from the proper authority, they would be reprimanded, if not worse."

Bourienne was of opinion, that at no time did the emperor seriously contem-



plate the invasion of England. The emperor himself, when at St. Helena, frequently conversed on the subject with Las Casas and O'Meara. He spoke as if he had fully intended carrying out his plans, and believed in their ultimate success. He intended to have proclaimed to the English, that "the French came as friends, to relieve them from an obnoxious and despotic aristocracy, whose object was to keep the nation eternally at war, in order to enrich themselves and their families through the blood of the people." The establishment of a republic, the abolition of the monarchy and of the nobility, and the forfeiture of the property of such of the latter as should resist, would, he told O'Meara, have gained him "the support of the *canaille*, and all the idle, profligate, and disaffected in the kingdom."

The English were dissatisfied with the lukewarmness and inefficient preparations of government, and Pitt was reinstated in office.

As we have intimated, the new coalition put a stop to the invasion of England. The battle of Trafalgar, fought on the 21st of October, by the destruction of the combined fleets of France and Spain, put an end to all Bonaparte's hopes in that quarter. On that day Nelson gained one of the greatest naval victories ever won; and Bonaparte was never able to collect another fleet to replace that which was thus destroyed. The loss of the English in this battle, is stated by Thiers to have been more than 3,000 men; it really amounted to 1,587 killed and wounded, in addition to Nelson, in himself a host.

From the pleasant heights of Boulogne—where, like an angry lion, Bonaparte had lain, glaring at England—he hastened away to meet the new movements of his foes. As usual, Bonaparte was too quick for them. In the first week in October the French crossed the Danube; and, on the 8th, the first passage of arms took place at Wertengen, between some French cavalry under Murat, and an Austrian division under General Auffenburg. In this action the Austrians were repulsed, and many prisoners taken. Other successes followed. Mack, the Austrian general, became so alarmed, that at Ulm, in a fortnight after, he signed a capitulation, by which 50,000 prisoners, 200 pieces of cannon, several thousand horses, and eighty standards, fell into the hands of the French. In another fortnight the emperor was in possession of Vienna, where immense stores, 100,000 muskets, 2,000 pieces of cannon, and corresponding quantities of ammunition, fell into his hands.

In Italy, Massena compelled the Archduke Charles to retreat; and, in Switzerland, Marshal Ney was similarly successful. The archdukes retreated on parallel lines, to meet at Laybach on the 15th of November. To beat the Russians before the archdukes could join them, was the next attempt of Bonaparte, who planted his head-quarters at Brunn, the capital of Moravia. On came the Russians and the Austrians. The opposing armies met at Austerlitz, a plain, the strategetic advantages of which had struck the emperor a few days previously, and where he resolved to fight; and from the heights of which, the Russian czar and the Austrian emperor saw their troops, their bravest and best, defeated, slaughtered, fugitive. The battle was fought on the 2nd of December. It has been rightly termed "the most glorious of all the victories of Napoleon." The allies lost at least 30,000 men, in killed, wounded, or prisoners; 180 guns, 500 caissons, and forty-five standards.

The defeated emperors sued for peace, and it was granted, on condition that Austria should cede Venice and Venetia to the kingdom of Italy; Dalmatia and Albania; the principality of Eichstadt; part of the archbishopric of Passau; the city of Augsburg; the Tyrol, and Austrian Swabia. The Brisgau and the Ortenau were also given up. Austria, besides, had to pay to France 44,000,000 francs, and to let the latter retain all the military stores, &c., which had fallen into her hands. On the same day Bonaparte issued a decree, deposing the King of Naples, and placing his brother Joseph on the throne instead. At the same time, also, he made a treaty with Prussia, by which he agreed to give up to that power Hanover, on condition that the Weser and the Elbe were closed against the English.

The death of Mr. Pitt, on the 23rd of January, 1806—Austerlitz had killed

him—led to the accession of Mr. Fox to power. He was personally known to, and respected by, Napoleon; and the offer of a scoundrel, soon after he had taken office, to assassinate the French emperor, led to a communication to M. Talleyrand, which caused a diplomatic intercourse to be opened, extending over many months. It failed of its object—that of restoring peace; but it had one good effect. The English government sent home many French officers who were prisoners of war, and Napoleon liberated the English families whom he had detained in France at the commencement of hostilities.

This short interval of peace was employed by Bonaparte in strengthening his power and rewarding his friends. The Venetian states were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, and Louis Napoleon was made King of Holland; Talleyrand, was created Prince of Benevento; and Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo. Some of his generals were made dukes. Other family and personal arrangements were made. Nor was internal legislation overlooked. The code Napoleon was improved; the *conseils des prud'hommes* were established. At the same time, to encourage French, and injure British manufactures, the importation of muslin and all other cotton goods was prohibited. Napoleon also introduced the system of sending only half their pay to the French troops which still remained in Germany and other countries, and he required those countries to supply them with food: as that food was never paid for, the inhabitants of the countries thus afflicted, as we may very naturally expect, became more and more averse to France.

On the 12th of July the confederacy of the Rhine was formed. The kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the Elector of Baden, were active agents in this. They were joined by the Elector of Mayence, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Usingen, Nassau-Weilburg, and other of the smaller potentates then abounding in Germany. The object of this alliance (the idea of which originated with Napoleon) was stated to be—the maintenance of internal and external peace, by an alliance with each other and with France; the obligation of that alliance to be, mutual assistance for defence if any one of the states were attacked. The common interests of the federal states were to be discussed in a diet, to assemble at Frankfort. This diet was to be composed of two colleges—a college of kings and a college of princes. The federal army was to consist of 263,000 men, France furnishing 200,000; and to Napoleon was given the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

We refer to this subject, as it gives us another illustration of the intense and arbitrary cruelty of Napoleon. Amongst the people of Germany this new confederation was anything but popular. By means of the press it was bitterly attacked. Several booksellers were arrested, and illegally sent before courts-martial; and one man was actually shot—Julius Joseph Palm, a citizen and bookseller of Nuremberg, who had published a pamphlet entitled *Germany in her Deepest Humiliation*. For issuing this pamphlet Palm was arrested, though Nuremberg was a free city, and he was not a subject of France or of the confederation. Shortly after he was removed to Brennan, where he was tried before a court-martial, found guilty of the offence Napoleon laid to his charge, and condemned to be shot. The sentence was carried into execution on the 25th of August. For such disgraceful tyranny there can be no excuse. The act was as mean and paltry as it was sanguinary and odious. Subscriptions were opened, throughout Germany and England, for the widow and children of the murdered man, for whom the greatest sympathy was expressed.

In this year the British government instructed their commanders to make descents on Naples, the legitimate sovereign of which, with the queen (a bold, bad woman) was still in Sicily, whither he had fled before the French. At the end of June Sir Sidney Smith took possession of the island of Capri, and an expedition sailed from Palermo, under Sir John Stuart, which landed on the west coast of Calabria with 5,000 men. There was no response to his call to the people to rise; but hearing that Regnier, with a French force, was encamped at Maida, Sir John



repaired thither. After a gallant struggle, the French, who had a superior force, were defeated. The effects in Calabria seemed at first likely to be fatal to the authority of Joseph. Regnier, and the remains of his force, retreated to the north; the people of the south rose *en masse* against the French; and the British took possession of all the towns and forts on the coast. The aspect of affairs soon changed. When Massena came up with 15,000 men, Sir John had to retire: the French advance was bravely resisted; but they ultimately established their authority.

At sea the French were unfortunate: the Rochefort and Brest squadrons were sent out to attack remote and ill-defended British colonies. Leissegues, on his return from St. Domingo, was met by Admiral Duckworth with a much superior force, and severely beaten. Admiral Villaumez was not much more fortunate. The Rochefort fleet, under Lallemande, took several merchant vessels, and the *Calcutta*, a fifty-gun frigate, and returned in safety to Rochefort. There was one other French squadron—that of Admiral Linois—in the Indian Ocean, which, after inflicting much damage on British commerce, was met by Sir J. B. Warren's fleet, which captured a part of it, with the admiral on board. Thus the fleets of France and Spain were driven from the ocean, and Britannia ruled the waves.

On the continent, at the head of his armies, Napoleon remained irresistible. The King of Prussia, ashamed of being the dupe of Napoleon, proclaimed war with France; and the latter took a terrible revenge. The Duke of Brunswick, who was at the head of the Prussian armies, was no match for Bonaparte. The Prussian declaration of war was made on the 9th of October: on the 10th fighting commenced; 1,000 Prussians were taken, and the young Prince Louis of Prussia was slain. The battles of Jena and Auerstadt were both fought on the 14th. At the former Davoust had but 30,000 men, while the king and the Duke of Brunswick had 70,000. After four hours' fighting, the king had to retreat on Weimar, and the Duke of Brunswick was mortally wounded.

The battle of Jena was fought in less time. Lannes and Lefebvre supported Ney's division. The Prussians made repeated charges with cavalry on the squares of the French infantry. At length Lannes attacked the centre of the Prussian line, and compelled the enemy to change their front. The French had to do the same; and for a time the issue was doubtful; but the arrival of Augereau with several regiments from Mayence, decided it in favour of the French. When Napoleon saw the enemy wavering, he ordered the imperial guards and cavalry to charge: the rout was complete, and the remnants fled to Weimar. In these two battles the Prussians lost, in killed and wounded, more than 45,000 men; and 160 pieces of cannon, with immense magazines of ammunition and provisions, fell into the hands of the victors. On the 15th the French advanced to Weimar, which they occupied, and partially sacked. Napoleon then pushed on to Berlin; a complete panic took possession of the Prussian army. On the 15th, Kalkreuth surrendered to Soult, with all his troops. On the 17th, Bernadotte defeated the Prince Eugène of Würtemberg, whom he encountered at Halle, with 16,000 men of the reserve. On the 18th, Erfurth surrendered to Murat with 14,000 men, 120 pieces of cannon, and numerous magazines. Spandau, Magdeburg, Glogau, and all the other fortresses of Prussia, fell into the hands of the French. Prince Hohenlohe, after finding his army of 50,000 reduced, by successive conflicts with the enemy, to 20,000, was compelled to capitulate to Murat; Blucher, with the rear-guard, retreated to Lubeck, which, after a severe resistance, was stormed by the French, and Blucher, 518 officers, and 20,000 men, were obliged to surrender themselves as prisoners of war.

The Berlin decrees were promulgated at this time. By means of them Bonaparte expected to annihilate British trade, and completely to isolate the British isles from the continent. By these decrees, first, those islands were declared to be in a state of blockade: the second of them prohibited all intercourse with England, and ordered all packets or letters addressed to this country, or written in the English language, to be seized. The third declared every native of

England, whatever his rank or condition, found in the countries occupied by French troops, or by those of their allies, to be prisoners of war. By the fourth, all English merchandise, or property of any description, was declared to be good prize, &c. The fifth prohibited trade with England. The sixth appropriated one-half of the merchandise or property seized as prize, to the indemnification of merchants whose vessels might be captured by English cruisers. The seventh decreed, that vessels coming from England, or her colonies, should not be received in any ports; and the eighth provided, that any vessel contravening the last article by a false declaration, should be seized and confiscated. In accordance with this decree, many Englishmen were unjustly imprisoned, and all English merchandise and other property confiscated, at Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Travemünde, and other places. The injury occasioned by this decree did Bonaparte as much mischief as it did us. It was always liable to evasion; and by its oppressive restrictions it alienated many of his allies. Napoleon endeavoured, in every way, to enforce his measures. He wrote to Junot immediately after he had published his decree, enjoining him to take especial care that the ladies of his family used Swiss tea and chicory; and that no part of their dress was composed of English merchandise; for, "if the wives of his chief officers did not set the example, whom could he expect to follow it. It was a contest for life or death between England and France; and he must look for cordial support from all those by whom he was surrounded."

In November, Alexander, the Russian czar, declared war against the emperor; and the latter again put his army in motion. At this period he had all Northern Germany, except Königsberg, and the fortresses of Strasburg and Colberg, directly or indirectly under his power. Several engagements took place between the Russians and the French, in which the latter were, as usual, successful. In his winter quarters at Warsaw, the emperor and his army were very comfortable. The old city assumed an appearance of business and gaiety. The foreign ambassadors repaired thither; and the emperor introduced many of the customs and manners of the Tuileries. He gave two concerts every week, holding a *levée* at their conclusion; and long did those who were present remember the beauty and the fascination of the Polish ladies: nor was the emperor himself insensible to their charms.

The drawn battle of Eylau was fought in February, 1807. The slaughter was great on both sides. The Russian general, who had 70,000 men, exclusive of the Prussians, in the morning, returned his loss at 7,900 killed and 12,000 wounded. Napoleon gave his as 1,900 killed, and 5,700 wounded. This return is evidently untrue; indeed, it was thought the French loss was quite as large as the Russian one. It is certain that sixteen generals were killed, and twelve imperial eagles taken. In that bleak, inclement season, the sufferings of the wounded were intense. Two days subsequently, we are told that 5,000 Russians still lay upon the ground. Bread and spirits were carried to them from time to time; and all that survived were transported to the hospitals, where every provision that had been so elaborately made was brought into requisition. The burial of the dead was a long and arduous task. And all this is the more melancholy, when we remember that such waste of life was to obtain power and influence in a country, all of which, Marshal Lannes told the emperor, "was not worth the loss of the humblest corporal in the army."

In May, Dantzic, with 800 pieces of cannon, fell into Bonaparte's hands.

In June he won the victory of Friedland. The Russian loss was immense. Nearly 17,000 men were killed, drowned, or wounded. Almost as many were made prisoners. Seventy stands of colours, and eighty pieces of cannon, became the property of the French.

Such crushing defeats made Alexander sue for peace. The result was the treaty of Tilsit. The King of Prussia accepted humiliating terms. Alexander fared better. He was to extend the continental system of Bonaparte throughout his empire; England was to be humbled; and Russia was to extend her power in



the East; while the French emperor was to bring Portugal and Spain under his rule. By this treaty all Europe was under Napoleon's influence, with but two exceptions, Sweden and Portugal. Denmark was more with France than with us; and the former had a fleet, which, in pursuance of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, would inevitably come into the hands of France, and be employed by her against England. This the English government determined to prevent. A fleet of twenty ships of the line, and a land force of 20,000 men, were despatched to Copenhagen, under the command of Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart. On the arrival of this armament, a demand was made on the Danish government to send their fleet to England till the conclusion of the war with France, when it would be restored; England, all the while, promising to protect the neutrality of Denmark. The proposal was refused, and Copenhagen was, in consequence, bombarded on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September. On the 10th the fleet was given up, and taken to England; and in October, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Denmark and France; the former, of course, declaring war against England, and giving her open adhesion to the continental system.

In justification of this act, strongly condemned by many, did Lord Palmerston, then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, deliver his first speech in parliament. Canning had ably defended ministers against the attacks of Ponsonby and the opposition. Lord Palmerston's speech was as follows:—

“I object, sir, to the motion of the honourable gentleman, because, in this peculiar case, his majesty's ministers are pledged to secrecy; but I also object generally to making public the working of diplomacy, because it is the tendency of disclosures in that department to shut up future sources of information. With respect to the present expedition, it is defensible on the ground that the enormous power of France enables her to coerce the weaker state to become an enemy of England. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) has urged that we have been guilty of a violation of the law of nations. Sir, no man could be more ready than I to respect the law of nations; but the question in this case is, how to apply the admitted principle, that the law of nations is sacred. It is one thing to admit the rights of nations, another to succumb to the policy which may for the time govern them. A nation coerced by a superior power loses that independence which is the plea for its rights, and the guarantee of their maintenance by mankind.

“In the case now before the House the law of nature is stronger than even the law of nations. It is to the law of self-preservation that England appeals for the justification of her proceedings. It is admitted by the honourable gentleman and his supporters, that if Denmark had evidenced any hostility towards this country, then we should have been justified in measures of retaliation. How, then, is the case altered, when we find Denmark acting under the coercion of a power notoriously hostile to us. Knowing, as we do, that Denmark is under the influence of France, can there be the shadow of a doubt that the object of our enemy would have been accomplished? Denmark coerced into hostility stands in the same position as Denmark voluntarily hostile, when the law of self-preservation comes into play. We must remember what has been the conduct of France towards other countries; and, if we would preserve the blessings of a free constitution, we must not judge this government by a barren and abstract rule of justice, but by those large and more free principles which regulate the conduct of nations in great emergencies.

“Does any one believe that Bonaparte will be restrained by any considerations of justice from acting towards Denmark as he has done towards other countries? Is it at the very moment when his legions are returning triumphant to France, that Denmark can hope for an exemption from the calamities of war, if she refuses to comply with the hostile intentions of France? Or can it be doubted that this would be the season when he would more especially seek to carry out his gigantic designs against us? England, according to that law of preservation which is a

fundamental principle of the law of nations, is justified in securing, and therefore enforcing, from Denmark a neutrality, which France would, by compulsion, have converted into an active hostility."

Of course, ministers carried the House with them; and the rising statesman's speech, no doubt, aided to secure their triumph.

Wilberforce's opinion on this matter may be quoted as that of most impartial observers. He writes to his friend, Mr. Hey—"I have been deeply impressed by accounts I have received of the sufferings of the inhabitants, both of Copenhagen and of Buenos Ayres. I wish you had hinted to me your opinion of the former measure. Religious people, I understand, condemn it strongly, as utterly unjust and indefensible. For my own part, after much, I trust, impartial reflection, I am convinced that, under the circumstances of the case, the Danish expedition was just. But it has grieved me exceedingly to hear lately that our government intend to confiscate, for our own benefit, all the ships and stores which have been brought away. Surely it would be both right and politic to confine ourselves within the strictest limits which are compatible with our essential safety. It was absolutely essential to deprive the Danes of a fleet which, combined with that of Russia, would otherwise have soon conveyed a French army to Ireland or Scotland, or have forced us to detach to the north so large a proportion of our naval strength as would have left us open to attack in the south and west of the two islands."

It must here be observed, that Mr. Fox, who joined the new cabinet formed on Pitt's death, had followed his great rival to the tomb. The succeeding ministry did not last long; and, on the 23rd of March, the Duke of Portland became Premier. Lord Eldon was his Chancellor; the Earl of Westmoreland, Privy Seal; Earl Camden, President of the Council; Lord Mulgrave, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Chatham, Master of the Ordnance; Lord Hawkesbury, Secretary for the Home Department; Canning, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Lord Castlereagh, Secretary for the Department of War and Colonies; and Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Palmerston, after unsuccessfully contesting Cambridge University against Lord Petty, was returned for Blechingley, and entered on official life. His speech was not a long one. It must be remembered that, in those days, parliamentary reporting had not been advanced to its present state of perfection. The defenders of the expedition to Denmark were the members of the British administration, who only knew the causes which led to it, and justified it. The government was compelled to do it in self-defence. Its best vindication, however, is the effect produced on Bonaparte. Fouché says the success of this attack was the first derangement of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, in virtue of which the navy of Denmark was to have been put at the disposal of France. "Since the catastrophe of Paul," he adds, "I have never seen Napoleon in such a transport of rage. That which struck him most in this ingenious *coup-de-main* was the promptitude and resolution of the English ministers."

No wonder Bonaparte was angry. This new scheme for crushing England was checked at its birth. "After Russia had joined my alliance," he told Jomini, "Prussia, as a matter of course, followed her example. Portugal, Sweden, and the pope alone required to be gained over; for we were well aware that Denmark would hasten to throw itself into our arms. If England refused the mediation of Russia, the whole maritime forces of the continent were to be employed against her; and they could muster—Spanish, French, Russian, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, and Portuguese—180 ships of the line. In a few years this force could be raised to 250. With the aid of such a fleet, and my immense flotilla, it was by no means impossible to lead a European army to London. One hundred ships of the line employed against her colonies in the two hemispheres, would have sufficed to draw off a large portion of the British navy; while eighty more, assembled in the channel, would have sufficed to ensure the passage of the flotilla, and avenge the outraged rights of nations. Such was, at bottom, my plan, which only failed of success from the faults committed in the Spanish war." By his own confession,



then, the British ministers were justified in their capture of the Danish fleet.

Napoleon lost no time in acting upon the secret articles of the treaty. A summons was sent to Sweden to join the leagues of France and Russia; and on the refusal of the king to do so, Alexander ordered an army into Finland, which took possession of the country in the winter of 1807. In August, a note was delivered to the Prince-Regent of Portugal, by the French ambassador; in which the following demands were made upon his royal highness:—1. That the English ambassador should be dismissed, and the Portuguese ambassador recalled from London. 2. That all the English residing in Portugal should be detained. 3. That all English merchandise in Portuguese ports or warehouses should be confiscated. 5. That his fleet should be united to those of France and the other continental powers, to act against England. The prince-regent had a fortnight allowed him for reflection. The Court temporised; the French army advanced; and the prince-regent became more compliant; but it was too late.

On the 1st of November, Junot, at the head of his troops (chiefly raw recruits), crossed the frontiers of Portugal, and marched into the interior. Before they reached Abrantes they were so demoralised that they might easily have been destroyed. In four days, Junot wrote that he would be in Lisbon. The Court became alarmed; the royal family embarked, with their suite, members of the nobility, and others (in all, 15,000 persons), for Brazil, taking with them, it was computed, about half the current coin of the realm. The embarkation took place under the protection of an English squadron; one part escorted the royal family to Brazil, the other blockaded the Tagus. The emigrants were conveyed across the Atlantic in eight large vessels of war, three frigates, and a great many merchant ships. This fleet left the river on the 29th of November; and on the 30th, Junot, with his advanced guard of 1,500 men, entered Lisbon. The *Moniteur* then announced that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign.

The time had now come for making a king of another of the Bonaparte family. Jerome, the youngest brother, then a mere youth, was made King of Westphalia.

The Milan decree came forth at this time. It appears the English government considered that some more decided steps should be taken against the powers which had adopted the "continental system." An order in council had been issued on the 7th of January, 1807, prohibiting the vessels of neutral powers from trading between ports from which the British flag was excluded; and decreeing that vessels persisting in such traffic after being warned, should be declared good prize. After the further accessions to the continental system, on the 11th of November another order in council was issued, declaring France, and all the countries under her influence, in a state of blockade. All ships and vessels trading between neutral and hostile ports, were declared liable to seizure; and his majesty's cruisers were instructed to carry out this order in its fullest sense, without respect to persons. When the order in council appeared, Napoleon was in Italy; and he met it by the Milan decree of the 17th of December. "The right of search," for the purpose of ascertaining whether belligerent property, or contraband of war, was on board neutral ships, had never been departed from by England. The Milan decree condemned the exercise of this right; and declared that every vessel, whatever nation it belonged to, which had been searched by an English cruiser, or had performed a voyage to England, or paid a duty to that government, was thereby denationalised; lost the protection of its flag; and was to be considered as English property: that all such vessels were good and lawful prizes: that the British islands were in a state of blockade by sea and land; and that any vessel clearing out from, or attempting to enter the ports of, England, might be lawfully captured.

But a grander scheme was revolving in the mind of the French emperor. This was the placing of a brother on the throne of Spain. Lucien declined to be made

a king on the conditions offered him by his brother. Joseph, consequently, was made King of Spain; and Murat was placed on Joseph's throne. The dissensions which prevailed in the Spanish royal family, aided the designs of Bonaparte. King Charles IV. was a king only in name; all real power was in the hands of the queen and her favourite, Don Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the body-guard of the king. As might be expected, there was no great friendship between Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias (the heir-apparent to the Spanish throne), and Godoy, the Prince of Peace. Napoleon was called in to heal the dissensions. As he saw how opposed the father and son were to each other, he conceived the idea, as he told O'Meara, of deriving advantages to himself from these differences, and of dispossessing the king and his son. It is clear that Napoleon had his eye on the Spanish throne before this; but the father and son equally played into his hands. The king abdicated his throne; the Prince of Asturias attempted to take the vacant seat; Murat refused to acknowledge the new sovereign; the population of Madrid, in their irritation at Murat and his licentious soldiery, rose *en masse* against the French; a collision took place, and hundreds of lives were lost. At length peace was restored, and an amnesty concluded, on the faith that it would be observed. The Spaniards came out into the streets. Murat had numbers of them seized, on the charge of being concerned in the insurrection. These men were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. This event inspired the Spanish people with a spirit of revenge, and gave rise to those guerilla movements in the provinces, which proved, ultimately, fatal to the French themselves.

Bonaparte was much annoyed by these events. After some negotiation, he got the King of Spain to resign his crown in favour of the former, on condition that he (the King of Spain) should have a palace assigned him at Compiègne, for the residence of himself and queen, and Godoy; and an annuity of £40,000. Ferdinand, alarmed, by the anger of Napoleon, for the safety of himself and his relatives, declared his concurrence in his father's resignation; he acquiring the title of Most Serene Highness, with the palace, parks, and farms at Navarre; and an annuity of 600,000 francs, to be paid from the French treasury. The new king was sent for from Italy. Against him the people rose all over Spain. The Asturias were the first to hoist the national banner. They were followed by the people of Aragon, Galicia, and several other provinces. Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed on the 2nd of June, at Saragossa. Juntas were formed in the various provinces; and that which met at Oviedo, for Asturias, on the 6th of June, declared war against France; appointed the Marquis of Santa Cruz generalissimo of the Spanish troops; sent deputations to London, to solicit the assistance of England; and, on the 14th of June, hostilities commenced by the Spanish garrison of Cadiz opening a fire upon five French ships of the line and one frigate in that harbour, which were compelled to surrender. Hard fighting, under Lord Wellesley, which we shall have to record, freed the peninsula from the tyranny of France.

The withdrawal of the most distinguished of Bonaparte's regiments, induced the Emperor of Austria to consider that the time was favourable for throwing off the yoke. Immense preparations were made. As usual, Bonaparte was ready before his enemies. In the first battle the Austrians retreated, leaving 9,000 prisoners, thirty pieces of cannon, 600 ammunition waggons, and 3,000 vehicles of various divisions, in the hands of the French. At Echmuhl a terrific encounter took place. For his services on that occasion Davoust received the title of Duke of Echmuhl. In five days the Austrian army had lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, between 50,000 and 60,000 men. Vienna was open to the victors, guarded only by about 36,000 men, disheartened by defeat. A desperate effort was made to defend it. At Ebersberg, after the loss of not less than 6,000 men on each side, the Austrians were obliged to retire, and the passage to Vienna was left open. The city capitulated on the 12th of May; the battle of Aspern was fought



immediately after. The loss was immense. Thiers says that it may be estimated to have been, on the side of the Austrians, 26,000 or 27,000; and 15,000 or 16,000 on the part of the French. The Austrian accounts make the loss of the former far greater. Wagram was the next well-fought field. At this battle the French confess that they had between 6,000 and 7,000 killed, and about 15,000 wounded. No wonder that all should get weary of this wild fighting, or that again Austria should sue for peace.

Bonaparte had now made up his mind for another attack on Russia. In vain Alexander tried to evade it, and, for that purpose, despatched M. Nesselrode, then a young man of great promise, to Paris, with a view to remove the existing causes of difference and disunion between the rival powers. It is not for us to chronicle the Russian campaign, which robbed France of her choicest troops, her ablest generals, her *prestige*, and her fame; and left her weak and defenceless in the midst of an angry world. All sorts of artifices were designed to hide from Russia the views of France. Napoleon was anxious to gain time. He had collected an enormous army of nearly 490,000: besides, Prussia and Austria promised to supply, between them, from 45,000 to 50,000 men. Napoleon put his forces in motion in June, 1812. In the *Memoires* of his own reign, dictated at St. Helena by Napoleon, to the generals who shared his captivity, he declared that the Russian expedition was undertaken from the consideration that the French empire, which he had created by so many victories, would certainly be dismembered at his death, and the sceptre of Europe would pass into the hands of the czar, unless he drove the Russians back beyond the Borysthenes, and raised up the throne of Poland, the natural barrier of the empire. The war became necessary after the violation of the treaty of Tilsit by the Emperor Alexander; but it was the before-mentioned consideration which induced him (Napoleon) to commence it. Austria, Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, then marched under the French eagles; and he asked—Was it not natural he should think of consolidating the vast empire he had raised?—but, on the summit of which, Russia would bear with the whole weight of her power, as long as she was able to send her numerous armies at pleasure on the Oder. This, he asserted, was the entire secret of that war, with which no personal feelings were mixed up. The plan of the czar was a simple one: it was to retreat before the ruthless and relentless invader, who had determined to plant his victorious standard at Moscow. It was in vain that the French won a battle, when their wisest course was to retreat. Napoleon entered Moscow in September, and planted himself in the Kremlin. The city was soon in flames. In a day or two he had to move his head-quarters. Early on the morning of the 17th he was abroad and gazing on the burning city. After watching the flames for some time, he exclaimed—“This sad event is the presage of a long train of disasters.” Never did he utter truer words. In that fire he might see predicted the fall of the French empire—the empire he had built up at such a costly expenditure of crime and treasure, brain and blood. The Russians estimate that the French lost 125,000 in the different engagements, and 100,000 by cold, disease, and hunger. They took forty-eight generals, 3,000 officers, and 190,000 privates prisoners, and captured seventy-five eagles or stand of colours, and 929 cannons, exclusive of those which were thrown into the river or buried. These totals very nearly assimilate with those given by Bouterlin: and certainly there never was a more complete wreck than that of the grand army of France in this Russian campaign. While in Russia, the conspiracy of Malet filled the emperor with alarm, as it taught him how slight a hold he and his held on the affections of the French people. It was on account of this that he hurried back to Paris, while his once brilliant army was suffering the most extreme privations, and dying, as fast as it could, from exhaustion and fatigue, rather than from injuries inflicted by the enemy. Deep and painful must have been his feelings at this moment; but they were all concealed under a cold exterior.

The empire, however, was not yet exhausted. The ambition of the emperor

required yet more victories. Prussia and Austria, and indeed all Germany, were desirous of being emancipated from French domination; and to secure that, Bonaparte resolved to strike another blow. At Lutzen, where Gustavus Adolphus fell in 1632, there was a terrific contest between the forces of Bonaparte and those of the allies. Different estimates have been given of the number of men engaged—some giving the French, others the allies, the superiority. The most precise accounts, and those which appear to be founded on official details, state that the French had 115,000 in the battle; the Russians and the Prussians, 71,925—giving the French the advantage in force. The loss on their side was enormous. Jomini says that Ney's corps alone had 12,000 privates, and 500 officers, killed and wounded. He adds—"The number of wounded was so great that the generals accused the young conscripts of having injured themselves to escape the fatigues and dangers of the campaign." The allies carried off 900 prisoners; and the entire number lost in active service was not less than 18,000. The loss of the allies was also very considerable, but not so great as that of the French.

Another great battle, that of Bautzen, was fought soon after. For some time the French were kept at bay, and then the allies made an orderly retreat. In the engagement, which lasted two days, the loss on both sides was great. That of the allies was 15,000 men killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners. The French had 5,000 killed, and 20,000 wounded.

Of course there was an armistice. Shortly after it was signed, under the pretence that it did not extend to irregulars, General Fournier, with 3,000 men, attacked a corps of partisans known as Lutrow's corps, which, only 500 strong, was retiring to Silesia. The poet Körner, at that time the Tyrtæus of Germany, was among them, and severely wounded. This act of treachery would have justified the allied sovereigns in breaking the armistice. They did not do so; but the people of Germany took the outrage to heart, and their universal cry was—"Armistice be it; but no peace. Revenge for Körner first!" "In signing this armistice," says Thiers, "Napoleon's only intention was to gain two months' time, in which to complete his armaments, and then to raise them to a strength sufficient to meet the new enemies he was about to create; *but he had never for a moment entertained the idea of peace.*"

We are now getting nearer the end of the extravagant expenditure of money and blood, which forms the history of the empire under Napoleon the great. On the 27th of August, 1813, the battle of Dresden was fought. It was one of the most remarkable ever gained by him; and it was the last pitched battle he won. Its results threatened at first great disasters to the allies, whose losses were tremendous. The number of killed and wounded was 12,000; of prisoners, 13,000. Before they got clear of the mountains, 2,000 more were taken. They also lost twenty-six cannons, eighteen standards, 130 caissons, and a great number of baggage waggons. Amongst the killed was the poet Körner. The loss of the French was about 7,000 killed and wounded.

And now fortune began to change, and to side with the allies, who were fighting for simple existence. Disaster upon disaster came upon the French; and the independence of Germany was achieved. Of the possessions of France beyond the Rhine, Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Wittenburg, on the Elbe; Custring and Glogau, on the Oder; and the citadels of Wurzburg and Erfurth alone remained. The confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; and the domination of Napoleon beyond that river was at end. More than 300,000 men had been lost to the empire; and of 1,200 cannons, 1,000 remained in the enemy's hands.

Napoleon returned to Paris a sadder man. Misfortunes came heavy on him. He had used up his resources, and there was none to turn to for sympathy and aid. Bernadotte, one of his own generals, placed on the throne of Sweden, was against him. Murat, another of them, King of Italy, had also deserted him; and, in the legislative body, a report of a decidedly hostile character, by a majority of 223 votes to 31, had been adopted and ordered to be printed. About the same time,



the Crown Prince of Denmark signed a treaty with Austria and Prussia; and Napoleon was left without an ally. Even Prince Eugène Beauharnais entertained overtures from the allies. It was in vain, even, that Napoleon won victories: he had lost his hold on France; and, in many quarters, even the Bourbons were wished back again.

Guizot, in his *Memoires*, gives us a true picture of the state of feeling in Paris. "I have," he writes, "still before my eyes the aspect of Paris, particularly of the Rue de Rivoli, then in course of construction, as I passed along on the morning of my departure. There were no workmen, and no activity; materials heaped together without being used; deserted scaffoldings; buildings abandoned for want of money, hands, or confidence, and in ruins before completion. Everywhere among the people a discontented air of uneasy idleness, as if they were equally in want of labour and repose. Throughout my journey, in the highways, in the towns and fields, I noticed the same appearance of inactivity and agitation. There were more women and children than men; many young conscripts marching mournfully to their battalions; sick and wounded soldiers returning to the interior; in fact, a mutilated and exhausted nation. Side by side with this physical suffering, I also remarked a great moral perplexity; the uneasiness of opposing sentiments; an ardent longing for peace; a deadly hatred of foreign invaders; with alternate feelings, as regarded Bonaparte, of anger and sympathy. By some he was denounced as the author of all their calamities; by others he was lauded as the bulwark of their country, and the avenger of her injuries. What struck me as a serious evil, although I was then far from able to estimate its full extent, was the marked inequality of those different expressions among the divided classes of the population. With the affluent and educated the prominent feeling was evidently a strong desire for peace; a dislike of the exigencies and hazards of the imperial system; a calculated foreshadowing of its fall; and the dawning perspective of another system of government. The lower orders, on the contrary, only roused themselves up from lassitude to give way to a momentary burst of patriotic rage, or to their reminiscences of the revolution. The imperial rule had given them discipline without reform. Appearances were tranquil; but, in truth, it might be said of the masses of the people, as of the emigrants, that they had forgotten nothing, and learnt nothing. There was no moral unity throughout the land; no common thought or passion, notwithstanding the common misfortunes and experience. The nation was almost as completely divided in its apathy as it had been lately in its excitement."

Soon there came the end—when Paris was in possession of the allies, and Napoleon an exile. Not even in his solitude was he blessed with the society of a wife. The Empress Louisa, with the young Napoleon, left for Vienna. Josephine, who was residing at Navarre when the treaty was signed, was seriously affected by the change in the fortunes of one she had never ceased to love. She went to Malmaison, at the request of the Emperor of Russia, who treated her with the greatest respect. But she was melancholy and depressed; she never rallied—expiring on the 29th of May, with the words, "Island of Elba" on her lips. She evidently did not exult at, but mourned over the disappointment and mortification of the man whose ambition drove him from her side for a wife of grander fortunes and regal birth.

"For me," writes M. Guizot, "under the empire, there was too much of the arrogance of power, too much contempt of right, and too little liberty." Briefly, we have here the faults of the empire as regards France. The vanity of the French nation was flattered by military glory; but something more was required; and that "something more" was what Guizot has thus indicated. Liberty, under the empire, there was none. Napoleon was not an atheist. In religion he saw a power that might be used against him; and to make sure that its action should be in his favour, he took it into his own hands. The result was, his *concordat* with Rome. In this adjustment with the papacy, Napoleon conceded as little as possible to the pope, and secured as much as possible to himself. The prejudice of the emperor against the Jews was ineradicable; but the Catholic and the Pro-

testant worship was to be recognised and established, and the ministers of each persuasion were to be salaried by the state. These state pastors were expected to do something for their money. In 1806, the council instituted two feast days—one in honour of the emperor's birthday; the other on the anniversary of his coronation and the battle of Austerlitz. "There shall be delivered," said this proclamation, "in the churches and temples, and by a minister of the respective creeds, a sermon on the glory of the French armies; and on the extent of the duty imposed on each citizen to consecrate his life to his prince and his country." Louis XIV. never exacted greater servility from his clergy. But this was only in harmony with the tone of the imperial catechism issued, to be taught in all schools.

*Question.*—What are the duties of Christians towards the princes who govern them [we read in page 55]; and what are our duties, in particular, towards Napoleon I., our emperor? *Answer.*—Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we, in particular, owe to Napoleon I., our emperor, affection, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, the ordinary tributes for the preservation and expense of the empire, and of his throne. \* \* \* To honour and serve our emperor, is then to honour and serve God himself.

*Question.*—Are there not some special motives which should bind us more strongly to Napoleon I., our emperor? *Answer.*—Yes; for it is he whom God has raised up, amid trying circumstances, to re-establish the public worship of the holy religion of our fathers, and to be its protector. He has regained and preserved public order by his profound and active wisdom. He defends the state with his powerful arm. He is become the helper of the Lord by the consecration received from the sovereign pontiff, head of the universal church.

*Question.*—What should be thought of those who fail in their duty towards our emperor? *Answer.*—According to the apostle Paul, they resist the established order of God himself; they render themselves deserving of eternal damnation."

Such was the rule to which Frenchmen were required to submit as the price of the military glory which so much fascinated them in that day; and of which they are still disposed to think so much.

Napoleon never lost sight of the measures he deemed necessary to control public opinion. While busy with the arrangements connected with his marriage, he was also occupied with the laws connected with the press; and in February, 1810, he issued a decree, establishing a director-general of the book-trade, subjecting all books to a rigorous censorship, and obliging all publishers and printers to take out licences, and take an oath to obey all his restrictive obligations. As this decree placed the command of the press in his hands, so the imperial university, which he established, gave him the control of the education of his subjects; for all its arrangements were entirely in his hands. He nominated the chancellor, or grand-master, with his salary of 150,000 francs per annum; the treasurer; the ten councillors and the fifty inspectors; who had under their surveillance all the educational establishments in the empire. This university has been, not inaptly, termed a vast system of instructing police; diffused all over the country, in connexion with, and dependent on, the central government: and, under its influence, the communal and voluntary schools died out, or were suppressed; and all academies and seminaries became connected with, and under the control of the university. In these institutions, where politics was entirely banished, and religion and morality little thought of, the physical sciences, geography, and everything relating to the art of war, were taught by able masters; and in these pursuits, no one can deny that immense progress was made.

The clergy were, as we have intimated, under the imperial thumb. When the emperor quarrelled with the pope, they preferred to side with Cæsar. When Cardinal Maury was made Archbishop of Paris, the pope wrote to him—"Is this the way, after having defended so eloquently the cause of the Catholic church, in the most stormy times, that you now abandon the same church? Now that you are



loaded with its favours and dignities, you do not blush to take part against us in the cause that we maintain in defence of the dignity of the church." At the time of the marriage of the emperor with his Austrian bride, there were twenty-eight cardinals, who had been brought to Paris. They were all ordered to attend the marriage of the emperor; but thirteen of them refused. The next day, Napoleon ordered Fouché to arrest these refractory priests, strip them of their purple, and scatter them through the provinces, that they might be under the surveillance of the police. Of course, the clergy at large little entered into his quarrel. They are described as being "united, tranquil, submissive." They ignored the bull of excommunication; and, though they regarded the seizure of the pope, and his imprisonment, as unjustifiable measures, they were not disposed to make them a cause of quarrel with the government. The bishops were quiescent, or favourable to the emperor; and the Bishop of Orleans addressed a letter to his clergy, in which he maintained that the pope was a spiritual priest, and had no claim to temporal authority. This conduct on the part of the clergy, caused Napoleon, though he made many attempts to conciliate the pope, to care little about what was termed the inveterate obstinacy of the pontiff, with whom he thought he should yet come to an understanding. By abolishing all the sees in the Roman states; suppressing the religious orders in Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and sequestrating all the ecclesiastical property of the papacy, the emperor obtained 250,000,000 francs; 150,000,000 of which he appropriated to the state property of France.

In his diary, Romilly gives us an idea of the arrogance and contempt for the people, cherished by the first consul. Romilly was in Paris when Bonaparte took possession of St. Cloud for himself. "Into this place," Romilly writes, "so difficult of access, have been transported some of the finest pictures of which the gallery of the Louvre has been despoiled. The public property is thus appropriated to adorn the private residence of the first consul, into which the unhallowed feet of the Parisian mob are not suffered to penetrate. This, more than anything else I have met with, proves to me in what scorn Bonaparte holds the opinions of the people. He seems to despise their favour; and if he supplies them with frequent festivals, it is less to gain popularity than to occupy and amuse them."

Romilly might well wonder what the French had been fighting for. Louis XIV. was never so independent of public opinion as Bonaparte: nor were the police of the former ever so vigilant, or so well organised, as those of the latter. There was no freedom of discussion. "Among other restraints," writes Romilly, "all English newspapers are prohibited; and it is said that even the foreign ministers are not permitted to receive them by the post. An opinion is entertained—whether with or without foundation I do not know—that persons of character, and who mix in good society, are spies employed by the police; and, consequently, that a man is hardly safe anywhere in uttering his sentiments on public affairs." Romilly's doubts, in our time have been cleared up, and we know the extent of the espionage which, under the empire, existed in every circle of society, and found victims and instruments everywhere. Fouché, the head spy, when at Nantes, was one of the most violent revolutionists—in the very spirit, it is said, of Carrier. It is reported of him, that he used at one time to wear in his hat the ear of an aristocrat, in the manner of a national cockade.

Under the empire enormous expenditure was the rule. "If," on one occasion, said M. Montalivet—"if a man of the age of the Medici, or of Louis XIV., were to revisit the earth, and, at the sight of so many marvels, were to ask how many years of peace and glorious reigns had been required to produce them, he would be answered—twelve years of war, and a single man." In twelve years, 1,005,000,000 francs had been expended on public works, all of them of utility or ornament, and many combining both qualities; but we must remember that it was the forced contributions, exacted from the countries overrun by the French armies, that enabled Napoleon to do so much to attract the notice and win the applause of the French people. The budget for the year 1810 comprised an item of no less than

750,000,000 francs, made from the *domaine extraordinaire*: which consisted of contributions levied on foreign countries, or paid under treaties; of the produce of movables confiscated or seized; and of the public lands of France. Well might an historian observe—"Never, since the time of the Roman dominions, had conquered states furnished such resources to a foreign treasury."

In one respect France was a great gainer by the empire. Previously to the time of Bonaparte, the state of the law in that country was as bad as it is with us. There were two systems of law—the written and the unwritten, each branching out into almost innumerable divisions; there were, besides, local customs; and, to make the confusion worse, there were the commentators. Voltaire writes—"Besides the 40,000 Roman laws, of which some one is always quoted at random, we have 500 different customs, reckoning the small towns and boroughs, which derogate from the usages of the principal jurisdiction; so that a person travelling post in France, changes laws oftener than he changes horses; and an advocate who is very learned in one city, is no better than an ignoramus in the next." Napoleon was a law reformer, and he went the right way to work. A commission was appointed to reduce these numerous and complex laws into one code. To the result of their labours was given the title of the *Code Napoleon*. It comprised, in fact, five codes. 1st. The *Code Civil*, which defines the rights and the relations of persons, and of property. 2nd. The *Code de Procedure Civile*, by which all judicial proceedings are regulated. 3rd. The *Code Commerce*, defining the duties and relations of principals, agents, and purchasers in commercial and trading transactions. 4th. The *Code d'Instruction Criminelle*, by which the duties of municipal and police officers, as well as those of the people in their social relations, are prescribed, and the mode of proceeding in all courts of justice in criminal matters. 5th. The *Code Penal*, which defines the punishment awarded for offences. In France the *Code Napoleon* still exists. It has been found to work so well, that Belgium, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and Italy have adopted it; and, with some amendments and additions, it remains, and long will remain, as the most beneficial memento of him whose name it bears.

Lavishly were pensions and places given under the empire. In vain the few republicans who were left murmured. Every man had his price; and the emperor was willing to pay it. He created the hereditary titles of prince, duke, baron, and chevalier; and, as most of his new nobility were soldiers of fortune, and destitute of property, rich endowments were attached to the titles, drawn from the revenues of those countries which had been conquered by French arms, and occupied by French troops. On Hanover alone, no less than sixty-six of his soldiers were quartered. Even the old *noblesse* joined in the general scramble for place and emolument. Some of the most furious of the Jacobins became the supporters of the empire. Sir James Mackintosh remarks, that "all the terrorists took refuge under Napoleon's authority; the more base accepted clandestine pensions, or insignificant places. Barrière wrote slavish paragraphs at Paris. Tallien was provided for by an obscure consulship in Spain. Fouché, one of the most atrocious of the terrorists, had been gradually formed into a good administrator, under a civilised despotism." When the old set the example, no wonder, as Sir A. Alison observes, that "the young men who had grown up to manhood amid the blaze of Napoleon's glory; the immense mass who looked to advancement in life, and saw no hope of attaining it but in the favour of government, rushed into the same career." Napoleon himself, in whose hands all superior appointments—naval, military, legal, or civil—were vested, and who, therefore, well knew how general was the desire to hold them, excused that mania for becoming *employés* which possessed all classes from the misfortunes and convulsions of the revolution. "Every one," he said to Las Casas, "was displaced; every one felt the necessity of seating himself again; and it was in order to aid that feeling, and give way to that universal necessity, that I felt the propriety of endowing all the principal officers with so much riches, power, and consideration."



It was in 1810 that the glory of the empire culminated, when Josephine, fainting and weeping, was cast aside, and a young Austrian princess placed upon the imperial throne. Napoleon himself assumed, as Cambacérès remarks, a more important and dignified air; and, for Maria Louisa, a household was formed, composed of members of the ancient *noblesse*, in which the pomp and ceremony of the old *régime* was revived, but on a grander scale.

All this was changed when the empire was over; when the victorious eagles of Napoleon had retired from the world they had troubled with their presence—never, perhaps, so humiliated, as when Louis, the long-desired, had come back in the train of an insolent invading army; and when the works of art the emperor had collected from all quarters of Europe were removed by English soldiers, and in the way most calculated to create offence. Sir Samuel Romilly, who was in Paris at this very time, writes—“It is hardly to be conceived by any one who had not been an eye-witness of it, what a degree of importance the French, or, at least, the inhabitants of Paris, attached to this. A woman of very mean condition, who was lamenting over this spoliation, was asked by a friend of mine why she took such an interest in the matter, and what she knew of statues and pictures. Her answer was—‘I understand nothing about them; but I know that they have attracted strangers from all parts of Europe; that they have excited the admiration and envy of other nations; and that they were purchased with the blood of our sons and brothers.’ This seems to be the general feeling of the people.”

And thus passed away the empire. Napoleon had been a prodigal, and lived too fast. He had used up France and Europe; had poured out the best blood of his empire; and there were none to fight for him. When the hour of his decline and fall arrived, he had taught all Europe to hate his name, and tremble at his power; and hence a European coalition, against which it was vain for him to contend.

The emperor's portrait has been painted by many hands. We cannot forget that his armies were a terrible scourge wherever they appeared; nor can impartial observers blot out the memory of that galling yoke; of that universal system of military despotism which weighed equally upon every country on the continent. Romilly tells us how, from Leith-hill, he and his family admired the illuminations by which London expressed its joy when the fall of Napoleon was announced. Nor was it London alone that rejoiced: from capital to capital, from Madrid to Petersburg, sped the glad tidings; and there was joy and rejoicing everywhere. Yet we must not do the emperor injustice, nor ignore the glory of the greatest military general of his age. “He was endowed,” writes Guizot, “with a genius incomparably active and powerful; much to be admired for his antipathy to disorder, for his profound instinct in ruling, and for his energetic rapidity in reconstructing the social framework; but his genius had no check, acknowledged no limits to its desires or will (either emanating from heaven or man), and thus remained revolutionary while combating revolution; thoroughly acquainted with the general conditions of society, but imperfectly, or rather coarsely, understanding the moral necessities of human nature; sometimes satisfying them with the soundest judgment; at other times depreciating and insulting them with impious pride. Who could have believed that the same man who had established the *concordat*, and reopened the churches in France, would have carried off the pope from Rome, and left him a prisoner at Fontainebleau? It is going too far to apply the same ill-treatment to philosophers and Christians—to reason and faith. Amongst the greatest men of his class, Napoleon was by far the most necessary for his time. None but himself could so quickly and effectually have substituted order in place of anarchy; but no one was so chimerical as to the future; for, having been master of France and Europe, he suffered Europe to drive him even from France. His name is greater and more enduring than his actions; the most brilliant of which—his conquests—disappeared, suddenly and for ever, with himself. In rendering homage to his exalted qualities, I feel no regret at not having appreciated them till after his death.”

## CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION, MANNERS, AND MORALS IN ENGLAND, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

MAN does not live by bread alone; ideas must exist and regulate his conduct; and of all ideas, those connected with religion are the most permanent and universal. A nation's religion reflects, and creates its better life. When Palmerston was young; when he was studying mental philosophy with Stewart, or gaining a wider insight into society at Cambridge, there was none of the religious life and activity which is the characteristic of the present age. In England, more especially since the Restoration, irreligion had come to be considered the mark of a fine gentleman. "The clergy," wrote Bishop Burnet, "were under more contempt than those of any other church in the empire." Archbishop Secker bewailed the profligacy of all ranks as something frightful. In his preface to his great work, the bishop wrote—"It has come to be considered that Christianity is no longer a subject of inquiry; but that it is now, at length, discovered to be fictitious." The celebrated jurist, Blackburn, had the curiosity, early in the reign of George III., to go from church to church, to hear every clergyman of note in London. He assures us that he heard not a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero; and that it would have been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard, whether the preacher was a follower of Confucius, Mohammed, or Christ. In a biography just published, a lady tells us that her friends remonstrated with her on the earnest manner in which she repeated the church service, as a breach of good manners and etiquette; and in a similar spirit, religious questions were discussed in the House of Commons. Sir W. Forbes tells us, Boswell (Johnson's biographer) was a man of fervent devotion. On one occasion Wilberforce vindicated the character of the despised missionary and oriental scholar, Dr. Carey. "I do not know," he said, "a finer instance of the moral sublime than that a poor cobbler, working in his stall, should conceive the idea of converting the Hindoos to Christianity; yet such was Dr. Carey. Why, Milton planning his *Paradise Lost*, in his old age and blindness, was nothing to it! And then, when he had gone to India, and was appointed, by Lord Wellesley, to a lucrative and honourable station in the college of Fort William, with equal nobleness of mind he made over all his salary—between £1,000 and £1,500 per annum—to the general object of the mission. By the way," adds Wilberforce, "nothing ever gave me a more lively sense of the low and mercenary standard of your men of honour, than the manifest effect produced upon the House of Commons by my stating this last circumstance. It seemed to be the only thing which moved them." Religious questions were discussed very unsatisfactorily. Little relief was given to clergymen of tender consciences. "They have the goose," said Fox, on one occasion, "and they shall have the sauce too." No wonder that Wilberforce in vain tried to get the bishops to oppose Sunday drillings. One of his correspondents defines a Methodist as a person who says his prayers; and the old Duke of Bridgewater never could mention Porteus, the Bishop of London, without terming him "that confounded Presbyterian." When the disgraceful affair of Mrs. Clarke and the Duke of York came up, Wilberforce writes—"No apparent sense, in the House, of the guilt of adultery, only of the political offence." Romilly, also, in a note, gives a curious illustration of the feelings of the upper classes. Speaking of a noted duellist, who had been attacked with alarming illness, he tells us, Macnamara added, "but I was prepared to meet the event like a *man of honour*."



Perhaps the best preacher, in the church or out of it, at that time, was Robert Hall; at any rate, Hannah More says so, and she was a competent authority. Dissenters and churchmen were not roused to activity then. Mr. Hughes, a leading London dissenting minister, dines with Wilberforce, and confesses—"Not one in twenty of Doddridge's pupils but turned Socinian, or tending that way;" and he said, "that all the old Presbyterian places of worship were becoming Socinian congregations." Yet, in those days, a religious revival had begun in the land, almost equalling that produced by that poor young German monk, who, walking the streets of Rome, with his soul grieved by the display of her pomp and corruption, heard a voice exclaiming, "The just shall live by faith."

Wilberforce was at the head of that practical philanthropy which has abolished slavery, clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and relieved the poor, and conferred on England a greater glory than her Wellingtons and Nelsons have won by their arms. Wilberforce came of a Methodist family. Methodism is one of the greatest facts of modern history. Church and dissent were alike evangelised by men who, born churchmen, died dissenters; who were driven out of the church, and yet to whom the church is indebted for the hold it has upon the public mind in our day. The Puseyites may be right; but it is clear that, if left to them, the church of England would be torn up by its roots to-morrow. Broad churchmen must always be, more or less, latitudinarian; and latitudinarianism and religious zeal never exist long together. The Evangelicals may be wrong; but it is clear that it is they who have won for the church its influence and power: and that they are what they are, humanly speaking, is due to Whitfield and Wesley.

Down in an obscure village, named Epworth, in the county of Leicestershire, was born a baby, on the 17th of June, 1703 (old style): the child, afterwards John Wesley, had a narrow chance of not being born at all. His father, the rector of the parish, was a strong-minded man. As a woman, the wife was equally strong-minded. At the close of family prayer, one evening, the rector observing that his wife did not respond "amen" to his prayer for the king, asked her the reason. She replied that she did not believe in the title of the Prince of Orange to the throne. "If that be the case," rejoined the rector, "we must part; for if we must have two kings, we must have two beds." The lady was inflexible, and the husband left home for a twelvemonth.

John Wesley was the first child born after conjugal harmony had been restored. The family circle was a strictly religious one; and John and his elder brother, Charles, at Westminster, and afterwards at Oxford, retained the impressions of home. At the latter place Whitfield joined them in 1736; and about this time they seem to have been known as Methodists. In that same year the two Wesleys sailed with General Oglethorpe, as missionaries to Georgia; some German Moravians were on board. These Moravians taught them a piety of which, till then, they had no idea, and their missionary experiences led them beyond the narrow circle of Oxford thought. In the meanwhile Whitfield had become ordained, and had commenced preaching with remarkable power in Bristol and London: he was on his way to America, in consequence of an invitation he had received from the Wesleys, just as they were coming home.

In England, the brothers Wesley renewed their intimacy with the Moravians. Charles first, and then John, found among them rest for their souls; and John paid Herrnhut, the original Moravian settlement, a visit. Methodism owes to Moravianism special obligations. "First," says Dr. Stevens, "it introduced Wesley into that regenerated spiritual life, the supremacy of which over all ecclesiasticism and dogmatism it was the appointed mission of Methodism to reassert and promote in the Protestant world. Secondly—Wesley derived from it some of his clearest conceptions of the theological ideas which he was to propagate, as essentially related to his spiritual life; and he returned from Herrnhut not only confirmed in his new religious experience, but in those most important doctrinal views. Thirdly—Zinzendorf's communities were based upon the plan of reforming the established

churches, by forming little churches within them, in despair of maintaining spiritual life among them otherwise. Wesley thus organised Methodism within the Anglican church; and besides, in many details of his discipline, he was indebted to the Moravians."

When Wesley returned from Germany, Whitfield had come home from America: Charles had been preaching and making converts among the clergy; and the hour had come, unconsciously, to lay the foundation of true Methodism. It is true, on Sunday Wesley preached in the churches; on the week-days he addressed the small assemblies the Moravians had collected in London: but in time the city churches were denied to him and his brother; and then Whitfield boldly turned field preacher. John Wesley soon followed his example; Charles followed suit, and was threatened by the archbishop with excommunication. He was somewhat intimidated by the menace; but Whitfield was at hand for his rescue, and he soon was proclaiming the gospel to thousands in Moorfields and Kennington Common. Thus were church rulers, in their blindness, driving away Methodists; and dissent and Methodism flourished, and grew up, while the church stood upon its dignity, and slept. In another quarter, also, the Wesleys were urged on to a separate organisation, as Wesley withdrew from the Moravians on account of errors, as he deemed them, springing up in their midst.

Wesley had by this time secured the Foundry, in Moorfields—a building which the government had used for the casting of cannon, but which was deserted and dilapidated. This place was opened in 1739, as the head-quarters of Wesleyan Methodism. Thence he itinerated all over the land. Mobs assailed him and his travelling evangelists; but neither he nor they feared the face of man. In the midst of these trials and successes, Whitfield returned from America, whither he had gone a second time; and the great separation took place, which has lasted until our day. The old question between fate and free-will—a question which has puzzled metaphysicians and divines since time was young, was revived in a new form, and, for a time, with considerable bitterness and animosity.

Wesley was, it seems, forced into the controversy, and repeatedly made proposals of peace. Whitfield, however, felt that he must declare his Calvinistic views, and relinquish fellowship with the Arminians, and their leader Wesley. Neither party, it is clear, as yet thought of forming a distinct ecclesiastical organisation from that of the mother church; but Whitfield was soon, by the force of circumstances, compelled to do this. A lady of quality, Lady Betty Hastings, had patronised the little band of Methodists at Oxford; Lady Margaret had been led by her to join them. Her influence over her sister-in-law, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, led the latter, during a serious illness, to become a Methodist herself. Her Calvinistic opinions led her to patronise Whitfield when he separated from Wesley. On the death of her husband, her ladyship devoted her life actively to religious labours. She purchased theatres, halls, and dilapidated chapels in London and elsewhere, and fitted them up for public worship. New chapels were also erected by her aid in many places in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Distinguished Calvinistic clergymen, as well as dissenters, co-operated in her plans; and, more or less, were under her direction. Romaine, Penn, Malan, Berridge, Toplady, Shirley, Fletcher, Benson, and a host of others, shared her beneficent labours. In a romantic and dilapidated castle in South Wales, the birth-place of Howell Harris, the Welsh evangelist, she established a college for the purpose of educating her preachers. In order to protect the chapels from suppression, or appropriation by the established church, the Countess of Huntingdon had to register them in 1779, according to the provisions of the Toleration Act. After that period, the regular clergy of the establishment ceased to occupy her pulpits; and, in time, her places of worship became absorbed, or nearly so, in the Independent denomination, with the exception of Wales, where, to this day, the Calvinistic Methodists are a numerous band.

In the meanwhile Wesleyanism was gradually settling down into shape and



form. Hitherto Wesley's lay helpers had been but "exhorters," and "readers," and "expounders" of the Scriptures; but now "lay preaching" was formally begun. Wesley, when he first heard of it, was shocked, and hastened to London to put it down; but he relented. The next thing was to form general rules, defining the terms of membership of the united societies. Members were to be divided into classes, under a leader; all who were convinced about the salvation of their souls were to be admitted to membership; no creed or dogma was required, but a life in accordance with Christian precepts and profession. In 1744, the first Wesleyan conference was held: the relations of the Methodist societies to the church of England were considered; secession from the establishment was discountenanced. But it is manifest that, at this time, Wesley's opinions on church order had been considerably relaxed. At the second conference, held in Bristol in 1746, a still further modification of high church views became apparent. Even then, however, he still believed in apostolical succession; in the priestly character of the Christian ministry, and the essential distinction of its three orders. When the third conference met, Wesley had come to see that his lay-assistants were "called of God," and were as legitimate preachers as any priest or bishop in the land. At the fifth conference, Wesley got so far as to declare, that the term "church" means, in the New Testament, "a single congregation;" and a "national church" is pronounced merely a "political institution." In a little while a new difficulty occurred. Some of the ablest of the preachers were unable to resist the reasonable demands of the people for the sacrament from their own pastors. Charles Wesley became alarmed, and much anxiety was felt when the conference met in 1755. The main question proposed was, whether they ought to separate from the establishment? After three days' discussion, the conference arrived at the conclusion that it was inexpedient to do so; and the preachers ceased, for the sake of peace, to administer the sacrament.

In 1770, appeared the Minute on Calvinism, which led to a controversy that raged fiercely for six years; and, by the time it was over, the virtual unity of Calvinistic and Arminian Methodism was at an end. Let us add, that to Calvinistic Methodism we are under lasting obligations. In literature, we are indebted to it for the Olney *Hymns*, and Cowper's *Task*. In the Clapham sect may be traced the influences of Methodism. At the house of Henry Thornton, in Clapham, there met William Wilberforce, Granville Sharpe, Thomas Clarkson, Barclay, Macaulay, Henry Martyn, Stephen, and others. The Bible, the Tract, and the Missionary Societies; negro emancipation and Sunday-schools; and, yet later, humanitarian and religious movements may be traced to the members of the Clapham sect. Such were some of the results of Methodism almost at its birth.

But we must hasten on: 1784 is termed the grand climacteric year of Methodism. Wesley gave to the conference a legal settlement, and ordained for the American societies, with his own hands, a bishop and two presbyters in that year. The acts were momentous; but neither of them were taken a day too soon. Shortly after, we find him entering in his diary—"I am growing old." He has now completed his organisation, and his time is chiefly spent in itinerating. He hastens over England, Scotland, Ireland, for he feels that the grasshopper has become a burden, and that the time is short. His brother Charles had already departed this life. A churchman to the last, he refused to be buried in his brother's chapel in the City Road, because it was not consecrated ground. About this time Wesley ceases to record his receipts and expenditure in his cash-book. His last signature to the minutes of the conference shows that his hand had forgot its cunning: the final letter is nearly two inches above the first; the *w* is placed over the *n*; and the last syllable of his surname over the first. The end soon came: in 1791 he died.

Southey, as is clear from this hasty sketch, has done much injustice to the character of Wesley. Step by step he was forced out of the church, and made the founder of a new sect—a post for which his mental qualities pre-eminently

fitted him. Of his own labours, and trials, sufferings—of the terrible persecutions he and his fellow-labourers had to undergo, we can here give no idea. Whitfield preached 18,000 sermons—more than ten a week—for his thirty-four years of ministerial life. Wesley preached 42,400 after his return from Georgia—more than fifteen a week. His physical strength, his temperate habits, his force of comprehending and managing at once the outlines and details of his plans; his attention to small things as well as large, fitted him for his post, and maintained him in it. Our modern Spurgeons effect but little, compared with such a man. He travelled, annually, 4,500 miles on horseback, preaching two, three, and sometimes four sermons a day, commencing at five in the morning. As a preacher he remains a problem to us; and most probably, in this respect, he was surpassed by Whitfield, whose oratorical capacity was very great. Cyrus Redding tells us he heard Wesley in his old age, and that he was monotonous and unimpressive. Dr. Stephens has, however, collected testimony of a more flattering character. Dr. Beattie, who heard Wesley preach at Aberdeen, said—"It was not a masterly sermon; but none but a master could have preached it." His ready humour was great. "Sir," said a blustering, low-bred man, who attempted to push him down—"Sir, I never make way for a fool." "I always do," replied Wesley, stepping aside, and calmly passing on. Michael Fenwick, who travelled with Wesley as groom, valet, and nurse, one day complained to his master that he never mentioned him. In the next number of the *Journal*, Fenwick found his egotism effectually rebuked. "I left Epworth," wrote Wesley, "with great satisfaction, and, about one, preached at Clayworth. I think none were unmoved but Michael Fenwick, who fell fast asleep under an adjoining hay-rick." As a married man Wesley was not happy: his wife, who appears to have been a shrew, left him. Perhaps, had he possessed a different partner, the character of modern England might have altogether changed. It is doubtful whether Howard would have written his great work on prisons had his home been a happier and more congenial one. It is certain Milton would never have written his treatise on Divorce, had he and Mistress Powell been on better terms. As it is, the world was the gainer in all these cases; and the consequence, as regards Wesley, was, that he became, as Buckle terms him, the first of the theological statesmen. Privately Southey expressed a better opinion of Wesley than he did publicly. In the *Wilberforce Correspondence*, the poet writes—"I consider him as the most influential mind of the last century—the man who will have produced the greatest effect, centuries, or perhaps millenniums hence, if the present race of man will continue so long." Surely Wesley's course was almost marvellous. When he died he saw his system sustained by 550 itinerant, and thousands of local preachers; and numbering more than 150,000 members. People who laughed at Methodism little estimated its true power or enduring influences. At first slowly affecting the mind or manners of the nation, soon it permeated the land, and, in the hearts of some of the ablest of the last generation, produced a deeper religious feeling, and a higher political and social life.

In those times, in the upper circles of society, there was much of coarseness, profanity, and ill-breeding. Lord Eldon loved his port; and Porson drank like a fish. Many a tale is told indicating the fact that often a speech was delivered in the House of Commons, by Sheridan and others, even by Pitt and Dundas, when they were the reverse of sober. "It is but a few nights ago," writes Sir Samuel Romilly, "that, while I was standing at the bar of the House of Commons, a young man, the brother of a peer, whose name is not worth mentioning, came up to me, and, breathing in my face the nauseous fumes of his undigested debauch, stammered out, 'I am against your bill; I am for hanging all.' I was confounded; and endeavouring to find out some excuse for him, I observed that I supposed he meant the certainty of punishment affording the only prospect of suppressing crimes: the laws, whatever they were, ought to be executed. 'No, no,' he said, 'it is not that; there is no good done by mercy: they only get worse. I would hang them all up at once.'"



Galt, in his *Life of Lord Byron*, refers to a serious quarrel between Lady Carlisle—"Carlisle, reclusive, in pride and rags"—and Charles James Fox.

It seems that they had quarrelled; and, on leaving her in the drawing-room, she called out after him, "that he might go about his business, for she did not care two skips of a louse for him." Fox, on coming to the hall, finding paper and ink on the table, wrote two lines in answer, and sent it up to her ladyship, to the effect, "that she always spoke of what was running in her head." Of the example of licentious extravagance set by the branches of the royal family, we must speak further on.

The fault of that age was unbounded extravagance and sensual indulgence: open and unblushing depravity, like that of the late Duke of Queensbury and the Marquis of Hertford, was rare; but to live beyond one's income, and to have to outrun the constable, was not. According to the fiat of a noble outlaw, who had to disappear from his place in society, it was impossible to live in England under £40,000 a year. His assertion is of the same stamp as the reply Brummell had the credit of giving, seriously, to a widow lady of fashion, who asked him what sum her son would require to enable him to dress like the rest of the world? "My dear madam, with strict economy, it might be done for £800 a year." This mention of Beau Brummell reminds us that, from his *Memoirs*, we get a more characteristic glimpse of high life at this period than from any other quarter. Writing about this time, Lord Byron declared there were three great men in Europe—himself, Napoleon Bonaparte, and George Brummell. We will devote a short space to the latter.

Brummell's grandfather was the faithful and confidential servant to Charles Monson, brother of the first lord of that name.

The Beau's father early attracted the notice of Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool. We next find him patronised by Lord North. In the service of his not ungrateful country Brummell acquired considerable wealth. He gave his son a fashionable education, and left him a third of £65,000. The Beau went to Eton and Cambridge; and as the companion of the Prince of Wales, and the leader of *ton*, got rid of all his money, and died in debt, forsaken and imbecile, at Caen. We may mention here, that the suppression of the consulship in Caen, by Lord Palmerston, in 1832, gave the finishing-stroke to poor Brummell. Captain Jesse, in his *Memoirs* of the latter, says—"I received the following account of a conversation that took place between Brummell and one of his friends on this subject. My correspondent was at Caen at the time, and knew him intimately. 'Brummell,' observes this gentleman, 'told me that his communication to Lord P——n was voluntary on his part, and was inspired by his desire to obtain Mr. Gordon's situation at Havre, or the consulship at Leghorn. In both of these he failed, and thus fell a sacrifice to his apparently disinterested love of country. He also read me an extract from his letter to Lord P——n, which I remember *verbatim*. It was as follows:—'Your lordship must be aware that, by informing the government of the inutility of a consul at Caen, I am actuated by purely disinterested motives. Your lordship will also bear in mind that my bread depends upon the trifling emoluments which I receive as consul at Caen. Should your lordship, therefore, on my suggestion, think fit to abolish the office, I trust some means of subsistence will be provided for me by government.' Lord P——n thanked Brummell for the information; abolished the consulate; made great promises, and left the poor Beau to expire, a driveller and a sham—something between

"A moping idiot and a madman gray."

Of this man's boundless impudence the most astonishing tales are told, and all the while the utmost scarcity prevailed in the land. In 1800, the consumption of flour for pastry was prohibited in the royal household, rice being used instead. The distillers left off malting. Hackney-coach fares were raised 25 per cent.; and Wedgwood made dishes to represent pie-crust.

But to return. When Lord Palmerston and Beau Brummell were young men, the dandies were the fashion. "I liked the dandies," wrote Byron; "they were all kind to me. I had a tinge of dandyism in my minority; and, probably, retained enough of it to conciliate the great ones at five-and-twenty. I knew them all, more or less; and they made me a member of Watier's, a superb club at that time."

Brummell is represented, by a journalist, to have worn a dove-coloured coat, and white satin inexpressibles. "This, the early period of his life," says the *Reveu de Paris*, "was signalised by the famous pair of gloves; to ensure the perfection of which two glovers were employed, one being charged exclusively with the making of the thumbs, the other the fingers and the rest of the hand. At this time," says the reviewer, "three hair-dressers were engaged to dress his hair; one for the temples, one for the front, and the third for his occiput. His boots were *cirées au vin de champagne*, and the ties of his cravats designed by the first portrait-painter in London." In sober truth, Brummell dressed as a gentleman of that period. The Prince of Wales would go of a morning to Chesterfield Street, to watch the progress of his friend's toilet, and remain till so late an hour that he sometimes sent away his horses, and insisted on Brummell's giving him a quiet dinner, which generally ended in a deep potation. The latter was a severe critic of dress. A nobleman, a good deal patronised by him, was one day walking with him in St. James's Street, when Brummell suddenly stopped, and asked Lord — what he called those things on his feet? "Why, shoes," he replied. "Shoes, are they?" said Brummell, doubtfully, and, stooping to look at them—"I thought they were slippers." On another occasion, the late Duke of Bedford asked him for an opinion on his new coat. Brummell examined him from head to foot. "Turn round," said the Beau: his grace did so, and the examination was continued in front. When it was concluded, Brummell stepped forward, and feeling the lappet delicately with his finger and thumb, said, in the most earnest and amusing manner, "Bedford, do you call this thing a coat?" Dress, in those days, was rather an expensive affair. When the wardrobe of George IV. was put up for sale, it realised the sum of £15,000. Lord Chesterfield, on that occasion, bought a cloak, the sable lining of which, alone, cost £800.

It is said that Brummell objected to country gentlemen being admitted to Watier's; assigning, as a sufficient reason for their exclusion, that their boots stunk of horse-dung and bad blacking. In his Melton days the Beau rarely hunted, as "he could not bear to have his tops and leathers splashed by the greasy, galloping farmers."

Once, while staying at the Duke of Rutland's, the Beau's sleeping apartment was in the gallery; and close to the door hung the rope of the great bell, which was never tolled except in case of fire. One night, after the Beau and a numerous company had retired to rest, the iron tongue of the great bell was heard wildly pealing. The effect, as may be imagined, was electrical, and the hall below, and the galleries above, were, in a few seconds, crowded—masters and mistresses, and servants in every variety of male and female costume. Of course no smoke or symptoms of fire could be perceived, and they were all wondering who could have tolled the bell, when the Beau came forward to the edge of the gallery, and said, with one of his blindest tones—"My good people, I really was sorry to disturb you, but I had no hot water." This man was at the head of the aristocracy. "I can stand," he said, "in the middle of the pit at the opera, and beckon to Lorne (sixth Duke of Argyll) on one side, and Villiers (Lord Jersey) on the other, and *see them come to me*." How well he succeeded in making his opinion valued or dreaded, the following anecdote will give an idea:—"Do you see that gentleman near the door?" said an experienced *chaperon* to her daughter, whom she had brought, for the first time, into the arena of Almack's; "he is now speaking to Lord —." "Yes, I see him," replied the young Lady Louisa, the daughter of a duke; "who is he?" "A person, my dear, who will probably



come and speak to us; and if he enters into conversation, be careful to give him a favourable impression of yourself, for"—and she sank her voice to a whisper—"he is the celebrated Mr. Brummell." On one occasion, in reply to a nobleman of the highest rank, who accused him of inveigling his son into a disreputable gambling transaction, the Beau exclaimed—"Really, I did my best for the young man. I once gave him my arm all the way from White's to Watier's."

His impertinence was unrivalled. When dining at a gentleman's house in Hampshire, where the champagne was far from being good, he waited for a pause in the conversation, and then raising his glass, and speaking in a voice to be heard by every one at the table, said—"John, give me some more of that cider." "Brummell," said one of his club friends, "you were not here yesterday; where did you dine?" "Dine, why with a person of the name of R——s; I believe he wishes me to notice him—hence the dinner; but to give him his due, he desired that I would make up the party myself, so I asked Alvanley, Mills, Pierpoint, and a few others; and I assure you the affair turned out quite unique; there was every delicacy in and out of season; the Sillery was perfect, and not a wish remained ungratified; but, my dear fellow, conceive my astonishment when I tell you that Mr. R——s had the assurance to sit down and dine with us." On another occasion, a wealthy young gentleman, then commencing life, being very anxious to be well placed in Brummell's world, asked him, and a large party, to dine. The Beau went; and a few minutes before they separated, requested to know who was to have the honour of taking him to Lady Jersey's that evening? "I will," said his host, delighted at the prospect of being seen to enter her ladyship's drawing-room in his company; "wait till my guests are gone, and my carriage is quite at your service." "Thank you, exceedingly," replied Brummell, pretending to take the offer in a literal sense; "very kind of you, indeed; but ——" and he assumed an air of great gravity—"how are you to go? You surely would not like to get up behind?" "No, that would not be right; and yet it will scarcely do for me to be seen in the same carriage with you."

The following are some of the Beau's witticisms, that were, at one time, in general circulation.

An acquaintance having, on a morning call, bored him dreadfully about some tour he had made in the north of England, inquired of his impatient listener, which of the lakes he preferred?—when Brummell, quite tired of the man's tedious importunity, turned his head inquiringly towards his valet, who was arranging something in the room, and said—"Robinson, which of the lakes do I admire?" "Windermere, sir," replied the distinguished individual. "Ah! yes, Windermere!" repeated Brummell, "so it is, Windermere!" A lady at dinner, observing that he did not take any vegetables, asked him whether such was his general habit? He replied—"Yes, madam, I once ate a pea." At another time, when invited to a merchant's house in the city, after keeping the guests waiting an hour, he entered the dining-room; as his glance fell on the table, he seemed suddenly transfixed, and exclaiming with uplifted hands, as in a tone of alarm and displeasure, "Good heavens!—ox!" he disappeared: there was a baron of beef on the table. One day, a friend meeting him limping in Bond Street, asked him what was the matter? He replied—"He had hurt his leg; and the worst of it was, it was his favourite leg." Having been asked by a sympathising friend, "how he happened to get such a severe cold?" his reply was, "Why, do you know I left my carriage yesterday evening, on my way to town from the Pavilion, and the infidel of a landlord put me into a room with a damp stranger." At an Ascot meeting, and early in the day, Brummell walked his horse up to Lady ——'s carriage, when she expressed her surprise at his throwing away his time on her, or thinking of running the risk of being seen talking to such a very quiet and unfashionable person. "My dear Lady ——," he replied, "pray

don't mention it, there is no one near us." It is said that when a friend rallied him, in his want of success in a matrimonial speculation, and pressed him for the reason of his failure, Brummell replied, with a smile—"Why, what could I do, my good fellow, but cut the connection? I discovered that Lady Mary actually ate cabbage!" And this was the man who gave the tone to high life, and was the companion of nobles and princes, and the proudest and fairest of England's daughters. If the justification adduced by Lady Hester Stanhope be true, it only reflects a still greater disgrace upon his age. Lady Stanhope said, she once inquired of Brummell why he did not devote his talents to a higher purpose than he did? The answer was a melancholy one. He said, "that he knew human nature well, and that he had adopted the only course which could place him in a prominent light, and enable him to separate himself from the society of the ordinary herd of men, whom he held in considerable contempt."

We learn from Moore, that when Sheridan came to town, it was a matter of anxious debate whether the son of a player could be received at Devonshire House. An excuse is suggested by Miss Berry, when she remarks—"Authors, actors, composers, singers, and musicians, were all considered as profligate vagabonds. Those whose good taste, or greater knowledge of the world, led them to make some exceptions, were implicated in the same moral category." She adds, in the next page—"It was not till late in the reign of George III. that sculptors, architects, and painters, with the single exception of Sir J. Reynolds, were received, and formed a part of the best and most chosen society of London."

Captain Gronow, in his very entertaining *Anecdotes and Reminiscences*, writing of this period, says—"The members of clubs in London, many years since, were persons, almost without exception, belonging exclusively to the aristocratic world. My tradesmen, as King Allen used to call the bankers and merchants, had not then invaded White's, Boodle's, Brookes', or Watier's, in Bolton Street, Piccadilly, which, with the Guards', Arthur's, and Graham's, were the only clubs at the west end of the town. White's was decidedly the most difficult of entry; its list of members composed nearly all the noble names of Great Britain.

"The politics of White's club was then decidedly Tory. It was here that play was carried on to such an extent that made many ravages in large fortunes, the traces of which have not disappeared at the present day. General Scott, the father-in-law of George Canning and the Duke of Portland, was known to have won, at White's, £200,000—thanks to his coolness, sobriety, and knowledge of the game of whist. The general possessed a great advantage over his companions, by avoiding those indulgences at the table which used to muddle other men's brains. At Brookes', for nearly half a century, the play was of a more gambling character than at White's. On one occasion, Lord Robert Spencer contrived to lose the last shilling of his considerable fortune, given him by his brother, the Duke of Marlborough. General Fitzpatrick being in the same condition, they agreed to raise a sum of money in order that they might keep a faro bank. The members of the club made no objection, and, ere long, they carried out their design. As is generally the case, the bank was a winner, and Lord Robert bagged, as his share of the proceeds, £100,000. He retired, strange to say, from the fetid atmosphere, and never again gambled. George Harley Drummond, of the famous banking-house, Charing-cross, only played once in his life, at White's club, at whist, on which occasion he lost £20,000. This event caused him to retire from the banking-house, of which he was a partner. Arthur's and Graham's were less aristocratic than the clubs I have mentioned."

Of the gambling mania of that period, a few anecdotes will suffice. George III. invariably evinced a strong aversion to Charles Fox; the secret of which, independently of political considerations, it is quite easy to understand. His son, the Prince of Wales, was far too intimate with Fox; and the latter was by no means a desirable mentor for ingenuous youth. Fox lodged in St. James's



Street; and as soon as he rose, which was very late, had a *levée* of his followers, and of the members of the gaming-club at Brookes'. His bristly, black person, and his shaggy breast, quite open, and rarely purified by any ablution, was wrapped in a foul linen night-gown, and his bushy hair dishevelled. In these cynic weeds, and with epicurean good-humour, did he dictate his politics; and in this school did the heir of the crown attend his lessons, and imbibe them. The ruling passion of Fox was partly owing to the lax training of his father, who, by his lavish allowance, fostered his propensity for play. According to Lord Chesterfield, the first Lord Holland had no fixed principles in religion or morality; and he censures him to his son as being too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them. At his death he left him £154,000 to pay his debts. It was all bespoke, and Fox soon became as deeply pledged as before. Amidst the wildest excesses of his youth, even while the victim of his passion for play, Fox eagerly cultivated, at intervals, his taste for letters, especially the Greek and Roman historians and poets; and he found resources in their works, under the most severe depressions occasioned by ill-luck at the gaming-table. One morning, after Fox had passed the whole night in company with Topham Beauclerk, at faro, the two friends were about to separate. Fox had lost throughout the night, and was in a frame of mind approaching desperation. Beauclerk's anxiety led him to be early at Fox's lodgings, and he inquired, not without apprehension, whether he had risen. The servant replied, that Mr. Fox was in the drawing-room; when Beauclerk walked up stairs, and cautiously opened the door, expecting to behold a frantic gamester stretched on the floor, bewailing his losses, or plunged in moody despair; but he was astonished to find him reading a Greek Herodotus. "What would you have me do?" asked Fox; "I have lost my last shilling." Upon other occasions, after staking and losing all that he could raise, at faro, instead of exclaiming against fortune, or manifesting the agitation natural under such circumstances, he would lay his head upon the table, and retain his place; but, exhausted by mental and bodily fatigue, almost immediately fell into a profound sleep. Such was society in Lord Palmerston's young days. With none of the excesses of that age is his name ever mixed up. That is presumptive evidence in his favour.

Dr. Knox remarks—"I venture to pronounce George III. a patriot king. When I see the chief magistrate a good son, a good husband, I think it a favourable presage for all that is amiable and useful to society." The same author, then, we may presume, will be inclined to judge leniently of the nobles and courtiers of the Georgian era. In many of his writings, indications abound that he is by no means inclined to Puritanical asceticism; yet the pen that could describe the king as a patriot, has drawn, in the darkest colours, the nobles that surrounded the throne. "When," he exclaims, "we read the list of dukes, marquises, and earls, viscounts and barons, exhibited in the *Court Calendar*, we cannot help wondering at the great number of those who are sunk in obscurity, or branded with infamy; and at the extreme paucity of the characters, to which may be applied, with justice, the epithet of decent, virtuous, learned, and devout. Here we see a long list of titled shadows, whose names are seldom heard, and whose persons are seldom seen, but at Newmarket and the Chocolate-house; there we mark a tribe whom fame has celebrated for those feats of gallantry, called, in an old-fashioned book, adultery. Here we point out a wretch stigmatised for unnatural crimes; there a bloodthirsty duellist. Debauchees, drunkards, spendthrifts, gamesters, tyrannical neighbours, and bad masters of families, occur to the mind of the reader so frequently, that they almost cease, by familiarity, to excite his animadversion. All this may be true, it will be said; but will it not be true of any other equal number of men? I venture to affirm it will not. The power, rank, and opulence of the nobility, added to bad company, and often to a bad education, lead them beyond the common line of depravity. There is this also which distinguishes their errors from the usual errors of human infirmity. They often boast of their enormities, and glory in their disgrace. Exorbitant profligacy is considered

as a mark of manly spirit ; and all who are decent and regular, are ridiculed by the majority as tame, pusillanimous, hypocritical, superstitious, methodistical, prejudiced, or narrow-minded." The picture drawn is not pleasant to contemplate, even if we admit, with Burn's high-bred and fashionable dog—

" There's some exceptions—man or woman ;  
But this is gentry's life in common."

We cannot resist the conclusion forced upon us—the nobles of George III. were little better than those of George II. and Walpole.

A tale is told of a lady, who, with her daughters, patronised a fashionable place of worship, at a fashionable watering-place. Her ladyship's intentions were excellent. She really did intend to worship, but the place was full, and her ladyship had to depart. Turning to her daughters, she exclaimed—"Well, my dears, at any rate we have done the genteel thing." If we are to believe the essayists and moralists of this time, church-going seems to have been hardly considered as even the genteel thing. Here is a picture from a writer to whom we have already referred :—"We must have a fast-day soon," says the statesman, "for the Americans have had one already." "It is unnecessary," replies the privy councillor in the jockey-dress, aiming at a wretched pun ; "it is all a farce." "Between friends," subjoins the statesman, "I am not fonder of such formalities than you are ; but you know it is decent, and we must conform, at least externally, to the prejudices of the mob." "It is decent, my lord," re-echoes the bench of bishops. "There is a sermon preached to-day before the House of Lords," says a member. "True," says another, "but I vote it a bore ; and besides, I am engaged to see a fine bitch pointer that I think of buying." "Well," resumes the other, "but let us make a party of two or three to church, because it is decent." "We beg, my lords," softly whispers an episcopal voice, "you would not put yourselves to the smallest inconvenience, for half-a-dozen of us have determined, though we have a thousand engagements, to put them off an hour or two, for the sake of decency. Decency, my lords, must supersede every consideration." "Will you go to church, my lord duke?" says one, lowly bowing to his patron. "No ; I think it decent, but you will be there on that account ; and as I am engaged to day at billiards, I must beg to be excused ; but I hope there will be enough there to make a gay appearance." "Among the gay senators," adds the author from whom this account is taken, "very few of late have displayed even that subordinate virtue of which we speak—a regard to external decency. Westminster Abbey, indeed, is not a place to be frequented for pleasure by those who chiefly shine at the stand of a horse-race. One or two officers, however, do attend at a sermon officially, and a few others for the sake of decency ; but the knowing-ones consider the whole business, to express their own ideas in their own language, as a 'cursed lounge.'" In these church and chapel-going times, we can scarcely realise the state of things described by the essayist. We may ask—what was the state of morals in low life when vice and extravagance were thus cultivated by their betters ? In Knox's *Essays*—very popular at the end of the last, and the beginning of the present century—the question is partly answered. The essayist complains, that wherever the servants of the rich go, they diffuse among the lower orders a spirit of debauchery, impudence, extravagance, and discontent ; and are everywhere a nuisance. Much of the corruption of the common people is caused by their example. The following is a case, the essayist tells us, too common in the country village :—"A young man, with all the happy simplicity of honesty and innocence, is engaged, in consequence of the good character which he bears, in the service of a neighbouring lord. He goes to the metropolis, and spends a winter in the lowest haunts of the lowest debauchery and vice. While his master is engaged in the scenes of polite amusement, the poor menial, who waits for him during the tedious watches of the night, solaces himself in the ale-house or the night-cellar, amidst all that can corrupt by examples of fraud, excess, ill language,



and every vice which debases humanity. At the return of summer, the poor fellow retires, with his master, into the country. He is finely dressed, and naturally excites the admiration of the village, and of his own family. What he says comes from him with the authority of an oracle. He considers himself, indeed, as greatly enlightened, and undertakes to communicate the illumination. In the first place, he ridicules the rusticity of his friends and neighbours, and laughs at their awkward dress and behaviour; their patient submission to their masters, he calls plodding and slavery; their sobriety and temperance, covetousness and meanness; their conjugal affection and regard to decency, ignorance of the world; and their religion, superstition; he commonly confirms his opinion by quoting the example of his lord." Mr. Knox makes him thus address the rustics around:—

"My lord, I would have you know, is a great man, and a very great man. He is concerned in governing the nation; making laws; and is in great favour both with prince and people. His patronage is courted, not only by clergymen such as our vicar, but by bishops and archbishops; therefore, you may depend upon it, whatever your godly books may teach you to the contrary, that his manner of acting and thinking is right, and such as is most conducive to happiness and enjoyment. Now this is my lord's plan. He drinks, games, swears, runs in debt, and never thinks of paying his bill at the shop; though, to do him justice, if he loses at cards, he always pays ready-money. My lord, likewise, keeps two or three mistresses, besides his wife, with whom indeed he never sleeps; but then he lets her go very grand; and though two or three of our mercers have broke since they have served us, he spares no cost in supporting her appearance. My lord never goes to church, but calls the parsons a pack of hypocrites; and employs his Sunday either in travelling or in cards, dice, drinking, and visiting the ladies. I usually stand behind my master's chair at dinner, and attend very closely to all the conversation, so that I often pick up a great deal of improvement; and, from all I have been able to collect, I am led to conclude that what we hear in sermons, and read in the Bible, is all nonsense; and that the true wisdom is to gratify one's senses and passions as much as one can; get money safely, in any manner, provided it can be gotten safely; and live jollily. So keep it up, my lords, and follow mine and my lord's example."

The essayist to whom we refer was a doctor of divinity, a master of Tunbridge school, and late fellow of St. John's, Oxford. The volume from which we extract is marked "fourteenth edition." We may assume, then, that he was not likely to draw an over-strained picture of high life; that he was in a position to be a judge of it; and that his account was considered by a large section of society to be correct. The reader will agree with us in thinking, that not only does the doctor reveal a state of morals most deplorable in the upper ranks; but the conclusion is inevitable, that those beneath must have deteriorated in consequence of the abandoned example set them by their superiors. And such, undoubtedly, was the case. Dr. Knox, after giving the imaginary harangue just quoted, adds—"The lads and lasses of the village listen to his lesson with open mouths, and hearts which pant to imitate their kind instructor. Many immediately relinquish the plough and the dairy, and hasten up to London in pursuit of fine clothes, money, and pleasure. They who remain behind endeavour not to be outdone in drunkenness, gaming, and debauchery, by a lord and his footman; and the village, from being the seat of peace, industry, and contentment, becomes the sink of misery and sin. Many soon emigrate from it to supply the Strand and the new colony. This," the doctor repeats, "is no exaggerated representation; there are few country gentlemen who do not consider the summer residence of a rich or titled man of fashion in their neighbourhood as a serious evil, because of the corruption of morals which his corrupted servants introduce. There are not many villages where some Mr. John, or Mrs. Abigail, does not endeavour to turn the country-people from the error of their ways, by teaching them that virtue is ignorance, and religion superstition. The example of rank and riches adds a weight to these arguments which nothing but woeful experience can counterpoise. So extensive

has the contagion been considered, that I have seen it mentioned in advertisements of houses on sale, as a very great recommendation, that there was no nobleman's seat within nine miles of the situation."

Nor, as regards the middle classes in London, do we have, from the same authority, a much more flattering picture. The extremes of irreligion and enthusiasm mark the manners of the capital. Sunday is considered, by the thrifty trader, as a holiday on which he may indulge without imprudence. It is therefore distinguished from the rest of the week, solely by excess and vicious indulgences. The parish churches are neglected; nor is there any great concourse to any place of worship, except where some enthusiast or hypocrite has opened a receptacle for those who labour under the symptoms of idiotism or insanity. We are told that "the churches are left to curates, or poor incumbents, who, in a place where riches are idolised, rank scarcely equal to the keeper of an ale-house or oil-shop." The justices of Middlesex are described as the standing objects of hatred and derision. Dr. Knox concludes with a picture of the physical and mental state of the cockney, by no means to be admired. "Luxury," he writes, "want of air, want of sleep, excess in food and in sensual indulgence, have a natural tendency to debilitate; and if there were not continual supplies from the north, I know not whether the city would not exhibit the human race in a most lamentable condition of imbecility, folly, and distortion. Compare the limbs of the volunteer soldiers in the metropolis with those of the rustic militia or regulars. Compare the understanding and conduct of him who was born within the sound of Bow bells, with those of the hardy natives of Yorkshire and Scotland." Well might the poet lament the absence of—

"Those healthful sports that graced the peaceful scene,  
Lived in each look, and brightened all the green;  
These, far departing, seek a kinder shore,  
And rural mirth and manners are no more."

The condition of the labouring classes, at this period of our history, was not very prosperous. In the preceding century there had been a great addition to their comforts and well-being. All writers agree in speaking of the interval between 1715 and 1765 as a period of general prosperity, notwithstanding the occasional complaints of the landed interest, on account of the cheapness of farm produce, and the dearth of labour. Mr. Hallam, in his *Constitutional History*, describes the reign of George II., which comprehended the greater portion of the time to which we refer, as "the most prosperous period that England has ever experienced." The author of the *Wealth of Nations*, frequently refers to the very remarkable advance which had taken place in the price of labour during that half-century, while the price of corn had fallen; and Mr. Malthus also speaks of the increase which then took place in the rate of wages, as a well-known fact. Adverting to the previous dearth and general distress, he says—"During the last forty years of the seventeenth century, and the first twenty years of the eighteenth, the average price of corn was such as, compared with the wages of labour, would enable the labourer to purchase, with a day's earnings, two-thirds of a peck of wheat. From 1720 to 1750, the price of wheat had so fallen, while wages had risen, that instead of two-thirds, the labourer could purchase the whole of a peck with the day's labour." Up to 1765, the average earnings of the agricultural labourer were equal to very nearly a peck of wheat; and as beef, mutton, butter, cheese, milk, malt, and many other commodities, were only about one-half of the price they now cost, he was able to live very comfortably. "This," says a well-informed writer, in the *British Quarterly Review*, "was the real golden age of the day-labourers of England, who then formed about two-thirds of the entire working class."

The half-century which followed was one of almost uninterrupted prosperity to the owners of the soil; the rental of the land having doubled, and, in many in-



stances, tripled; while complaints of want of employment, dearness of food, and consequent distress among the agricultural population, became more and more frequent every year. In 1766, the price of the quartern loaf rose to 1s. 6d., while wages remained the same as they had been when it was less than half that price. The ministry, alarmed at the threatening prospect of affairs, issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of corn; and summoned parliament to meet in November. The royal speech referred to the prevailing scarcity as the cause of this early meeting of the legislature, which would be called upon to advise what should be done on "a matter of so much importance, and so particularly affecting the working classes." The high price of food continued throughout the following year, and led to serious disturbances, attended with much loss of life in various parts of the kingdom. A year or two of moderate prices followed, but only to be succeeded by a longer interval of dearth, and increasing want of employment, which soon became the rule, and not the exception.

In 1770, the *Deserted Village* appeared. Goldsmith looked upon the decay of the peasantry with a poet's eye, and mourned it with a poet's heart. He writes—

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay;  
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,  
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;  
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,  
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.  
A time there was ere England's grief began,  
When every rood of ground maintained its man;  
For him light labour spread her wholesome store,  
Just gave what life required, but gave no more;  
His best companions innocence and health,  
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth:  
But times are altered; trades' unfeeling train  
Usurp the land, and dispossess the swain."

In 1795, the Rev. David Davies, rector of Barkham, Herts, published his *Case of the Labourers in Husbandry, Stated and Considered*, in which he gives the result of his inquiry into the earnings and expenses of labouring families in different parts of England. He had been induced to look into the question so far back as 1787. In his customary visits to the labourers in his parish, he had found them, in general, indifferently fed and badly clothed; many of the children without shoes and stockings; very few of them at school; and most of the families in debt to the neighbouring shopkeepers. On inquiry, he found that this wretched condition was not owing either to sloth or wastefulness. "I know," he says, "that the farmers were careful that the men should not want employment; and had the men been given to drinking, I am sure I should have heard of it. I commonly found the women, when not working in the fields, well occupied at home—seldom, indeed, earning money, but baking their bread, washing, and mending their garments, and rocking the cradle." On asking what they themselves considered the cause of all this misery, they agreed in ascribing it to the dearness of food. "Everything," they said, "is so dear, that we can scarcely live." The benevolent rector inquired into the particulars of their earnings and expenses, with a view to ascertain what grounds there were for this complaint. These inquiries were subsequently extended to many other counties; and the information thus obtained formed the main portion of his work on the condition of the agricultural population. The conclusion to which he came was, that the price of food had nearly doubled in Berkshire, while the wages of the labourer had only increased about 20 per cent.; and even this small advance he declared to be more apparent than real; "for the additional shilling a week is not equivalent to certain advantages which labouring people formerly enjoyed; but of which they have been gradually deprived. Many writers take it for granted, that, while this reduction of

wages was going on throughout the purely agricultural districts, the condition of the people was not much worse than when food was cheap, because wages were now made up out of the poor-rates. This, however, is a great mistake. Even if the additional amount of rates expended had been fairly distributed amongst the whole labouring population, instead of being given to the most clamorous and improvident, that extra sum would not have made up one-fourth part of the real fall which had taken place in wages through the dearth of food. Taking the number of labourers at 1,000,000—which is not far beyond the mark—and assuming that their wages had risen in proportion to the price of food, or about 4s. 6d., this would have given an additional sum of £11,700,000; whereas the actual increase in the amount expended for the relief of the poor, did not exceed £2,000,000, according to the most authentic estimates.”

In this brief glance at the condition of the people, we have confined our remarks chiefly to the state of the agricultural population; because, up to the time of which we write, there was no such great disparity as now exists between the wages of artisans and those of day-labourers. At the present day, a mason, bricklayer, or carpenter receives double, and, in some cases, treble the amount of wages that a labourer receives.

The magistrates looked very sharp after skilled labourers, such as joiners, carpenters, masons, &c.; and, in many parts of the country, issued a regular tariff of wages, to which they were to submit. “As to artificers,” on one occasion decree the Manchester magistrates—“as to artificers, workmen, and labourers, that conspire together concerning their work or wages, every one of them so conspiring shall forfeit, for the first offence, £10 to the king; and if he pay it not within six days after conviction by witness, confession, or otherwise, shall suffer twenty days’ imprisonment, and, during that time, shall have no sustenance but bread and water. For the second offence he shall forfeit £20; and that not paid within six days as aforesaid, shall suffer the pillory: and, for the third offence, shall forfeit £40; and that not paid within the said time, shall again suffer the pillory, lose one of his ears, and be for ever taken as a man infamous, and not to be credited.”

According to the Manchester magistrates, there was no difference between the best husbandry labourer and the best mason. Even the master workman, who superintended the labours of a number of skilled labourers, was only paid twopence a day above the man who merely guided the plough, or handled the spade; and the hours were protracted from five in the morning till half-past seven in the evening, with two-and-a-half hours for meals and rest.

According to Mr. Senior, the produce of the land has certainly tripled, probably quadrupled, during a period in which the population of England was doubled. How is it, then, that while the masons and builders had their wages raised, no improvement appears to have taken place in the lot of the agricultural labourer?

Mr. Arthur Young, in his *Farmer's Letters to the People of England*, describes the method by which the county gentlemen of this period kept down the rural population. “How often,” he writes, “do gentlemen who have possessions in a parish, when cottages come to a sale, purchase them, and immediately raze them to the foundation, that they may not become the nests, as they are called, of beggars’ brats, by which means their tenants are not burdened in their rates, and their farms let better, for the rates are considered as much as the rent. In this matter cottages are the perpetual objects of jealousy; the young inhabitants are prevented from marrying, and population is obstructed.” In some instances a landowner has been so successful in pulling down cottages, and in hunting the poor labourers out of his parish, as to have reduced the poor-rates to almost nothing; and the result has been, that the town population has unnaturally increased; and in the dirt, filth, and negligence of the town, the labourer has come to be unhappy and discontented himself, and the cause of unhappiness and discontent in



others. Dr. Arnold, by birth and breeding a Tory, could not shut his eyes to this. "I have long had a suspicion," he writes from France, so late as 1825, "that Cobbett's complaints of the degradation and sufferings of the poor in England contained much truth. It is certain that the peasantry here are much more generally proprietors of their own land than with us. A revolution would benefit the lawyers, &c.; but I do not see what the labouring classes would gain by it. For them the work has been done already, in the destruction of the feudal tyranny of the nobility and great men; and, in my opinion, this blessing is enough to compensate the evils of the French revolution: for the good endures, while the effect of the massacres and devastations are passing away. It is my delight everywhere to see the feudal castle in ruins, never, I trust, to be rebuilt or reoccupied; and, in this respect, the watchword, *Guerre aux chateaux paix aux chaumières*, was prophetic of the actual result of the French revolution." Again he writes—"I wish you could read Arthur Young's *Travels in France in 1787 and 1790*, and see what he says of the general condition of the peasantry there, and then compare the condition of the French populace now. It speaks well for small sub-divided properties, general intelligence, and an absence of aristocratical manners and distinctions."

If we are asked what were the laws of this period, we get no favourable idea of the wisdom of our ancestors. Harsh laws create rather than repress crime; and at this period the laws were of a Draconian severity. In vain do we search the statute-book, during the eighteenth century, for enactments to improve the social or moral condition of the people. The general penal code of the empire had become the most severe in Europe; and one writer assures us that there were more criminals executed annually in the British empire in any given year after the accession of the House of Hanover to the throne, than in almost all the continent, or, at any rate, all portions of it professing to be civilised. According to the calculation of Blackstone, there were not less than 160 offences, upon the conviction of any of which the judge was bound to pronounce the sentence of death. In this dreadful category are to be found, together with murder, burglary, highway robbery, such crimes as breaking down the head of a fish-pond, cutting down trees of an avenue or garden, cutting hop-bines, perjury in cases of insolvency, and some others equally frivolous. "First and foremost amongst the causes of crime in the rural districts, stand the game-laws, against which even Blackstone protested. Even at that time Dr. Knox could describe them as a disgrace to the noble fabric of our free constitution." They are illiberal in their nature; they originated in slavery; and they lead to tyranny. It is remarked by Burn, and the great commentator on our legal system, that in one statute only, for the preservation of game, there are not less than six blunders in grammar, besides other mistakes; so that one is led to believe that this part of our boasted code was drawn up by a committee of boorish country squires and stupid fox-hunters. Indeed, the whole body of the game-laws, at that time, was replete with absurdity, perplexity, and contradiction. What could be more ridiculous than that the legislature of a mighty empire should require £100 a year as a qualification to shoot a partridge, and only forty shillings to vote for a senator! Yet such actually was the case. The gamekeeper, usually "one of the greatest scoundrels in the parish, sallies forth under the protection of the lord or lady of the manor; and if he meet a curate, or even an apothecary, or a respectable tradesman, or even a neighbouring lord of the manor, boldly insults them; threatens to shoot their dogs or seize their fowling-pieces, and justifies all he does by the plea that he is acting in accordance with his master's orders."

A few facts and figures will enable us better to realise the condition of England at this time. In 1800, the population of Great Britain was 10,680,000.

Hard times for the working classes came. Between 1800 and 1810, 1,550,000 acres of common land were enclosed, not for the benefit of the poor, but for that of the landlord. The very extensive introduction of mechanical as a substitute for manual labour, tended still further, at first, to increase the difficulties by which

the workman earned his daily bread. However great the benefits ultimately conferred upon the nation by that memorable change, there can be no doubt that its immediate effect upon a class—and that class the largest and most helpless—was severely disastrous. “Under a proper system,” writes Mr. Doubleday, in his *Financial, Monetary, and Statistical History of England*, “the employment of machinery cannot be an evil; but where the value of everything is measured, as in England, by money, and by money alone; where the consequences of things, as respects national morality or national happiness, are put aside as unworthy of notice amidst the calculations of profits, and the summing up of pounds sterling, these inventions may, and do, bring with them many evils.” So it was in this instance. No one deemed the labourers, who were thus deprived of employment, worth a thought. Instead of being cared for, they were left to the comfort of a metaphor, and told to open out new channels of industry.

In 1800, Pitt, in detailing the means of raising the supply, estimated the income-tax at £5,300,000, exclusive of £1,700,000, appropriated to the payment of interest for £32,500,000. For the year, he required, and expected to gain, from various sources, £39,500,000. These financial proposals, which underwent a variety of strictures from the vigilant observation of Tierney, were ultimately carried.

To the revenue and debt a common remark is applicable—namely, that, enormously large as was their real amount, the nominal was much exaggerated: the paper-money issued by the Bank of England, and country banks, was, in reality, far below its legal value. Its depreciation below the coined standard is evidently proved by the fact, that the exportation of gold and silver was severely prohibited; and at the same time that the one pound note could be bought for sixteen silver shillings, the golden guinea would readily fetch a one pound note and seven shillings. One consequence of that depreciation of money, which went on unchecked from 1797 to 1815, was a great change in the sober habits of the nation. Before this period, men, whether engaged in agriculture or commerce, were accustomed to moderate prices, free from violent fluctuations, and a good, but steady, rate of profit. All this, the continued depreciation of money, joined to the war monopolies, totally altered. As commodities of all descriptions rose in price, speculation grew; and the profits of these adventures were sometimes so enormous, that men of all grades frequently made rapid and sudden fortunes. Farmers and graziers, who had long leases, seemed to prosper beyond hope. The gains of those who lent money to government were also enormous; and the influence which this torrent of prosperity (in part it was only apparent), joined to the profuse national expenditure, gave the party in power, was irresistible. The bubble burst at the time of the peace; it had very nearly done so before. Lord King, one of the “convertible economists,” attempted to bring the question to an issue by giving notice to his tenants, in 1810, that he would receive his rents only in gold; and he was met by parliament declaring Bank of England notes a legal tender. As the paper-money was thrown upon the market, general prices, of course, rose. Every one had notes, and was ready to part with them for more substantial commodities; the latter rising, naturally, in value as paper became more plentiful. How huge a robbery was inflicted on the nation when the loans thus borrowed in depreciated paper were acknowledged, and saddled on future generations at standard money value, may easily be calculated. We have paid dearly for the ignorance of political economy of those days ever since.

Turning in another direction, we see, amid the darkness and the storm of this period, the light of genius shining more and more unto the perfect day. In poetry especially this was the case. The French revolution gave a stimulus to the mind of nations; and in England, as in Europe, there was an awakening. No longer were Mason and Hayley, and Warton and West looked on as models of perfection. Prose had sunk into the art of writing correctly, and expressing nothing all the while. Verse, while it showed that the writer was a tolerable grammarian, knew something of geography and history; had the names of the three graces and



nine muses by heart, yet wanted "the vision and the faculty divine—the light which never shone on sea or shore." Henceforth genius aimed to touch the heart, and to stir the chords of human feeling and passion. "Burns, who drove immodesty from love, and coarseness from humour," as his latest biographer, Alexander Smith, remarks—"Burns the peasant, who walked in glory on the mountain side," led the way. He was followed by Cowper and Crabbe, by Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey; by Scott, Campbell, Byron, Shelley, and Moore. The *Edinburgh Review* originated with men of another class of mind. It was in November, 1802, that the first number of that celebrated journal appeared, written by Jeffrey, Horner, Sidney Smith, and Dr. Thomas Browne. It was a success of the most magnificent description. John Foster speaks of it as a terrible *Review*; a work, probably, superior to everything of the kind for the last century—everything since Bayle's time. "I read it," he remarks, in a letter to Mr. Hughes, "with abhorrence of its tendency as to religion, but with admiration of everything else. It cannot fail to have a very great effect on the literary world, by imperiously requiring a high style of intellectual performance, and setting the example. It is most wonderful how a parcel of young men have acquired such extensive and accurate knowledge, and such a firm, disciplined, and unjuvenile habit of thinking and composing." It was in this *Review* that Brougham and Mackintosh were also soon to write. In reply to it, the Tories were compelled to issue the *Quarterly*.

Among political writers, Malthus, Bentham, and Cobbett claim mention here. The first, at the beginning of the century, published that far-famed book which, in spite of its errors and drawbacks, was a most important contribution to political science. Bentham originated a school in political and moral philosophy, which has formed some of the greatest thinkers of our age; and the beneficial effects of which are yet visible all over the land. Cobbett, though now little read, did much in his time, by his energy, perseverance, clear style, and vigorous thought, to educate that mass of English radicalism which was to save the country when the glare of martial glory had passed away, and men had to grapple with the stern realities of political corruption and national poverty, ignorance, and discontent; and last, though not least, Wilberforce was redeeming England from the curse of the slave-trade, and inaugurating that era of philanthropy which will give lustre to the name of Britain when the fame of her warrior sons will be no more.

At this time, also, the arts and sciences, which humanise and bless mankind, begin to shed their benignant light upon the land. Accessions to physical knowledge are being made, which, we shall see, will result in—to quote the Benthamian phrase—"the greatest happiness of the greatest number." Sir Humphrey Davy, by the invention of the safety-lamp, is teaching science how to fulfil her true mission by labouring for all classes and conditions of men. Pretentious art had been abandoned; and Wilkie, who had found love—

"In huts where poor men lie,  
Whose daily teachers had been woods and rills,  
The silence that is in the starry sky,  
The sleep that is among the lonely hills,"

had found his subject in the sorrows and joys of common life and common people. It will be remembered that, in the earlier years of the present century, the world witnessed the control and application of steam by Watt, Symington, and Trevethic; the great discoveries in physics, by Dalton, Cavendish, Woollaston, and Davy; and, in astronomy, by Herschel, Maskelyne, and Bailey; the invention of the power-loom and the spinning-mule, by Crompton and Cartwright; the introduction of machinery into the manufacture of paper, by Bryan Donkin, and others; the improvements in the printing-press, and invention of stereotype printing, by Charles, Earl Stanhope; the introduction of gas into general use, by Murdoch; and the construction, in a great measure, of the present system of canal communication, by Jessop, Chapman, Telford, and Rennie. During the same period of time, were

likewise living, Count Rumford; Robert Brown, the botanist; William Smith, the father of English geology; Thomas Young, the natural philosopher; Brunel; Sir Samuel Bentham; and Francis Ronalds, who, by securing perfect insulation, was the first to demonstrate the practicability of passing an electric message through a lengthened space; together with many others, the fruits of whose labours we are now reaping. To Sir Joseph Banks, at this time the president of the Royal Society, we are indebted, amongst other things, for the beautiful plants with which we adorn our gardens. Nash, the architect, was also making London pleasant to the eye.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### PALMERSTON IN PARLIAMENT.

ON the death of Pitt, Fox became Prime Minister, and young Henry Petty, the late Marquis of Lansdowne, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. The parliamentary representation of the university of Cambridge was also vacant; and Lord Henry became the popular candidate. The Tories set up Lord Palmerston, a still younger man, as an opposition candidate, but in vain. Indeed, Lord Palmerston's attempts to enter the House, to which he afterwards became so attached, were unfortunate. He was returned to the new parliament that met in December, 1806, as member for Horsham; but by a double return, and an opposition, was unseated. He again started for Cambridge University, at the election of 1807; and was defeated, together with his former antagonist, Lord Henry Petty. He did, however, obtain a seat that year, and commenced his long career as a member of the House of Commons, by representing the borough of Newport, Isle of Wight, which was then under the influence of the Newport family.

Parliament in those days was, of course, unreformed. A few facts and figures will show the reader what the representation really was until the Reform Act, in 1832, came into operation. The House of Commons consisted of 658 members, of whom 513 were returned by England and Wales, one hundred by Ireland, and forty-five by Scotland. Of the members returned by England and Wales, ninety-four were the representatives of counties. Of the remaining members, four were returned by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; so that 415 M.P.'s represented cities and boroughs. In the distribution of seats, however, there was gross injustice. Weymouth sent four members to parliament; the Cornish boroughs no less than forty-five; while the great cities and commercial towns of the north were altogether ignored.

It is impossible to give accurate details respecting the amount of the constituencies in all the cities and boroughs. Beer-Alston, Gatton, and Old Sarum had none whatever. There were twenty-eight boroughs, the electors of which did not amount, in the whole, to 1,000; and yet these boroughs sent fifty members to parliament. Also ninety-seven boroughs, in each of which the electors did not exceed 100. There were nine, in each of which the electors were under ten; and twenty-seven in which the numbers were between ten and twenty-five. Of all the boroughs possessing the franchise, there were 115, in none of which the electors exceeded 200. Out of 221 borough members, 127 were nominated by 111 peers and commoners; 143 peers and commoners returned, either directly or indirectly, 193 members; and sixteen peers returned seventy-six members.

Of the Irish members, sixty-four were returned by the counties. The con-



stituents were freeholders, having what was called a beneficial interest of £10 at the least in lands within the county; and of the remaining thirty-six, the university of Edinburgh returned one, and the cities and boroughs thirty-five. In some of these latter places, the electors were merely nominal; the right to return the representatives being vested in the corporations, which, in the greater number of boroughs, consisted of only thirteen or fourteen persons, who almost invariably left the choice of the representative to some influential member; and he usually exercised his power in consideration of a sum of money, or the enjoyment of some official patronage. For example, Sir Robert Peel, immediately after he attained the age of twenty-one, was returned for Cashel, to the inhabitants of which he was an utter stranger; nor was it necessary that he should seek their confidence, as he did not profess to represent their political opinions.

All the Scotch members were returned by constituencies which did not pretend to be popular, and were as scanty as they were corrupt.

How things worked we get a good idea in the biographies of the statesmen of that time. At the election in which Lord Palmerston appeared as a candidate, Sir Samuel Romilly complains of the exorbitant prices asked by proprietors of boroughs. He says—"After a parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them, would be very cheap. They are, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney (the manager for the friends of the late administration) tells me that he offered £10,000 for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors; and has met with a refusal: £6,000, and £5,500 have been given for seats, and with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the king's death, or by any change of administration. The truth is, that the new ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H——, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to ministers. With what money all this is done I know not; but it is supposed that the king, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration—the favourite objects of his choice—has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse." With such corruption, it is really to be wondered at that we got any kind of decent government at all.

In the counties the contest was fairer between the people and the friends of the party in power. In them, popular opinion, to a certain extent, could make itself heard; but then the expense of a county election was enormous, and the money squandered in those days in such matters almost surpasses belief. Wilberforce, in 1807, had to stand a contested election for Yorkshire: £64,455 were subscribed by his friends and admirers from all parts of the country, for the purpose of returning him. The joint expenses of his two opponents amounted to £200,000. The poll was kept open for fifteen days; and, all that time, rioting and speech-making, and eating and drinking, were the rule. An entry in Wilberforce's diary is characteristic:—"Then the mob-directing system; twenty bruisers sent for—Firby, the young ruffian; Gully, and others." Members who thus spent their money, expected, of course, to get it back again. Some deemed an official appointment an adequate reward; others a step in the peerage, or a good berth for younger sons. For them there was the church, the army, and the navy; and thus the poor public had ultimately to pay for the expenditure, which, at the time of a general election, the thoughtless rejoiced at, and considered such a good thing for trade. It was thus the nation was plunged into war, and that we built up the national debt.

Such was the constitution of the House of Commons when Lord Palmerston took his seat on the ministerial benches. The leader, nominally, was Spencer Perceval, born in 1792, the second son of the Earl of Egremont, the landless scion of a poor but noble house. He betook himself, with great industry, to the bar, and was so fortunate as to attract, by a pamphlet on the Warren Hastings question,

the attention of Mr. Pitt. Wilberforce constantly speaks of him in the highest terms. "Perceval," he says, in his private diary, "had the sweetest of all possible tempers, and was one of the most conscientious men I ever knew; the most instinctively obedient to the dictates of conscience; the least disposed to give pain to others; the most charitable, and truly kind and generous creature." The sketch is a little too favourable. It is clear Perceval had, in the Commons, to do or defend many a dirty job, of which a very high-minded man would have washed his hands. The ministry, of which he was the head, was fulsome and slavish to the king, whose prejudices had grown and strengthened, as they are apt to do, with age. Perceval was a rigid Conservative: of all government abuses he was the advocate; of all reforms in every way he was the foe. In 1810, Sir Samuel Romilly brought in a bill to repeal the act which made it a capital offence to steal to the amount of forty shillings in a house. Perceval opposed the bill. Surely a less objectionable measure was never proposed in the House of Commons. Well, Perceval was well paid. In the first place, when he gave up his practice at the bar for politics, he was offered the perpetual Chancellorship of Lancaster. Having been Solicitor and Attorney-general under Pitt and Addington, he became, on the death of the former, Chancellor of the Exchequer. And, when he died, besides erecting a public monument to his memory, the parliament voted his widow a pension; his eldest son a pension; and £50,000 to the children. It was not for nothing that men were found willing to serve the king in these golden days, before parliament was reformed, and the British constitution destroyed. "As a private man, I had a very great regard for Perceval," writes Romilly. "We went the same circuit together; and, for many years, I lived with him in a very delightful intimacy. No man could be more generous, more kind, or more friendly than he was; no man ever, in private life, had a nicer sense of honour. Never was there, I believe, a more affectionate husband, or a more tender parent; but I could not endure the idea of living privately in intimacy with a man whose public conduct I, in the highest degree, disapproved."

Lord Castlereagh, another of Viscount Palmerston's colleagues, was an Irish nobleman, patriotic in his youth, when he sat in the Irish Commons for the county of Down. Converted by government influence, he was transferred to the British parliament; but sent back to Ireland, as chief secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, to effect the union. He retained office with Perceval, under Addington. He was then Secretary for the department of War and Colonies. Wilberforce terms him, "a cold-blooded creature." He will live in Tom Moore's bitter quib:—

"*Question.*—Why is a pump like V-sc-nt C-st-l-r-gh?

"*Answer.*—Because it is a slender thing of wood,  
That up and down its awkward arm doth sway,  
And coldly spouts, and spouts, and spouts away,  
In one weak, washy, everlasting flood."

Sir Thomas Buxton writes—"I was several years in parliament with Lord Castlereagh. He had some excellent qualities for a leader, and some very much the reverse. His temper was admirable; but then, in speaking, he was strangely obscure, and sometimes made the most queer blunders: so that, occasionally, in the midst of a pathetic speech, he would say something which would make the whole House burst out laughing." No wonder, when we remember Castlereagh was in the habit of speaking of "a man turning his back upon himself." Viscount Palmerston could have had no very cordial feeling towards his leader. Huskisson's account of Castlereagh's last days seems to imply this. The latter had taken up the idea that none of his colleagues would speak to him. It made him miserable; and nothing could drive it from his mind. At length he was obliged to give a cabinet dinner; but he was confident none of the ministers would come. Huskisson was the first to arrive; and he was received with such extravagant warmth and cordiality as was quite incomprehensible to him. The rest came, and everything went on smoothly,



till, at last, he counted them, and said—"Palmerston is not here; the others are all my friends; but, you see, Palmerston won't come." Insanity, however, was at work in that overburdened brain; and the result was suicide.

The Speaker of the House of Commons was the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, afterwards Lord Colchester. Not much is known of him beyond the ridicule of Moore, who held him up as the little man who had a little soul.

" And he said, little soul, let us try, try, try,  
Whether its within our reach  
To make up a little speech,  
Just between little you, and little I, I, I,  
Just between little you and little I."

Lord Hawkesbury, the younger son of the Earl of Liverpool, who gained some distinction in the lower house, was another of Lord Palmerston's colleagues.

But the main bulwark of ministers was George Canning, the son of a poor barrister, who died young; and of a mother who took to the stage for the support of herself and her fatherless son. Canning was befriended by a relative, and sent to Eton, where he outstripped all his competitors, and edited the *Microcosm*. From Eton he passed to Cambridge, and quickly thence to Lincoln's Inn. It was expected he would have joined the Whigs when he took his seat in the House of Commons; but he was laid hold of by Pitt, and enlisted on the Tory side. As an orator he was unequalled. "His reasoning," says Sir Thomas F. Buxton, "is seldom above mediocrity; but then it is recommended by language so wonderfully happy, by a manner so exquisitely elegant, and by wit so clear, so pungent, and unpremeditated, that he contrives to beguile the House of its austerity." Canning's humour was irresistible. If not the first of statesmen, he was the first of wits; and if he was not the first statesman of his age, it was difficult, in the House of Commons, to point out his superior. If he was a Tory, he was not one of the old school; and the nation advanced under him in a liberal direction. Wilberforce never seems to have given Canning the hearty admiration he gave to Pitt; yet he felt the charm of a wit such as rarely illustrates and adorns our parliamentary annals. Wilberforce went home crying with laughter after listening to Canning's description of Lord Nugent's journey to Spain, to lend to the constitutional party there (his lordship was not a light weight) his invaluable assistance. As the passage is a capital specimen of good-natured political raillery, we give it entire. "It was about the middle of last June that the heavy Falmouth coach was observed travelling to its destination through the roads of Cornwall, with more than usual gravity. There were, according to the best advice, two inside passengers: one a lady of no considerable dimensions; the other a gentleman who, as it has been since ascertained, was conveying the succour of his person to Spain. I am informed—and, having no reason to doubt my informant, I firmly believe it—that in the van belonging to the coach (gentlemen must know the nature and uses of that auxiliary to the stage-coaches) was a box more bulky than ordinary, and of most portentous contents. It was observed that, after their arrival, the box and the passenger before-mentioned became inseparable. The box was known to have contained the uniform of a Spanish general of cavalry; and it was said of the helmet (which was beyond the usual size), that it exceeded all other helmets spoken of in history, not excepting the celebrated helmet in the *Castle of Otranto*. The idea of going to the relief of a fortress blockaded by sea and besieged by land, with the uniform of a light cavalry officer, was new, to say the least of it. About this time, the force officered by the honourable gentleman (which had never existed but on paper), was, in all probability, expected. I will not stay to determine whether it was to have consisted of 10,000 or 5,000 men. No doubt, upon the arrival of the general and his uniform, the Cortes must have rubbed their hands with satisfaction, and concluded that, now the promised force was come, they would have little more to fear. It did come—as much of it as ever would have been seen by

the Cortes or the king; but it came in that sense, and no other, which was described by a witty nobleman, George, Duke of Buckingham, whom the noble lord opposite (Lord Nugent) reckons among his lineal ancestors. In the play of *The Rehearsal*, there was a scene occupied with the designs of two usurpers, to one of whom their party, entering, says—

“‘Sirs,  
The army at the door, but in disguise,  
Entreats a word with both your majesties.’

(Very loud and continued laughter). Such must have been the effect of the arrival of the noble lord. How he was received, or with what effect he operated on the councils and affairs of the Cortes by his arrival, I do not know. Things were, at that juncture, moving too rapidly to their final issue. How far the noble lord had conducted to the termination, by plumping his weight into the sinking scale of the Cortes, is too nice a question for me just now to settle.” Loud cheers and laughter greeted this conclusion. Yet Canning’s wit, while it sparkled and amused, seldom offended. Lord Nugent was long afterwards one of his warmest supporters. “Canning’s drollery of voice and manner were,” says Mr. Wilberforce, “inimitable. There is a lighting up of his features, and a comic play about the mouth, when the full force of the approaching witticism strikes his own mind, which prepares you for the burst which is to follow.” Neither Pitt nor Fox had this quality of humour. Mackintosh said of Canning, that he incorporated in his mind all the eloquence and wisdom of ancient literature. He thought Canning and Plunkett the finest orators of their time, and that Canning especially excelled in language.

“Canning’s speech on the South American provinces was an era in the senate,” wrote a M.P., applying what was said of the eloquence of Chatham—“It was an epoch in a man’s life to have heard him. I shall never forget the deep moral earnestness of his tone, and the blaze of glory that seemed to light up his features.” That fine sentence, in which Canning spoke of the part he had acted, must be familiar to our readers—“I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the old.” Canning took his stand not only between contending nations, but contending principles, in that marvellous speech. “In its delivery,” we are told, “his chest heaved and expanded; his nostrils dilated; a noble pride slightly curled his lip; and age and sickness were forgotten in the ardour of youthful genius.” “All the while,” says an observer, “serenity sat upon his brow, that pointed to deeds of glory.” Yet this man was slandered, abused, and spoken evil of. He was too liberal for the old Tories; and at one time was sent away from the legitimate scene of his labours, triumph, and ambition, into a sort of honourable exile. His noble vindication of himself, after the Liverpool election in 1816, ought never to be forgotten. “There is,” said Mr. Canning, “a heavier charge than either of those that I have stated to you. It is, gentlemen, that I am an adventurer. To this charge, as I understand it, I am willing to plead guilty. A representative of the people, I am one of those people, and I present myself to those who choose me only with the claims of character, be they what they may, unaccredited by patrician patronage or party recommendation. Nor is it in this free country, where, in every walk of life, the road of honourable success is open to every individual—I am sure it is not in this place—that I shall be expected to apologise for so presenting myself to your choice. I know there is a political creed which assigns to a certain combination of great families a right to dictate to the sovereign and to influence the people, and that this doctrine of hereditary aptitude for administration is, singularly enough, most prevalent among those who find nothing more laughable than the principle of legitimacy in the crown. To this theory I have never subscribed. If to depend directly on the people as their representative in parliament; if, as a servant of the crown, to lean on no other support than that of public confidence—if that be to be an adventurer, I plead guilty to the



charge; and I would not exchange that situation, to whatever taunts it may expose me, for all the advantages which might be derived from an ancestry of a hundred generations." "Canning rose," wrote Eliot, the Corn-law Rhymer—

"A veteran proud of honest scars;  
He stood—a bard with lightning in his look;  
He spoke—Apollo had the voice of Mars;  
His form all hope from phalanx'd faction took,  
While flashed his satire like a falchion bared  
On all who meanly thought or basely dared."

Windham was another of the leading men of that day. "He was a man," writes Sir James Mackintosh, "of a very high order, spoiled by faults apparently small. [Wilberforce tells us he was a wretched man of business.] He had acuteness, wit, variety of knowledge, and fertility of illustration, in a degree probably superior to any man now alive. He had not the least approach to meanness: on the contrary, he was distinguished by honour and loftiness of sentiment. But he was an indiscreet debater, who sacrificed his interest as a statesman to his momentary feelings as an orator. For the sake of a new subtlety or a forcible phrase, he was content to utter what loaded him with permanent unpopularity. This logical propensity always led him to extreme consequences; and he expressed his opinions so strongly, that they seemed to furnish the most striking examples of political inconsistency; though if prudence had limited his logic, and mitigated his expressions, they would have been acknowledged to be no more than those views of different sides of an object which, in the changes of politics, may present themselves to the mind of a statesman. Singular as it may sound, he often opposed statesmen from a love of paradox. These novelties had long been established opinions among men of speculation; and this sort of establishment had roused his mind to resist them before they were prepared to be reduced to practice. The mitigation of the penal law had, for instance, been the system of every philosopher in Europe, for the last half-century, but Paley. The principles generally received by enlightened men on that subject, had long almost disgusted him as commonplaces: and he was opposing the established creed of minds of his own class, when he appeared to be supporting an established creed of law. But he was a scholar, a man of genius, and a gentleman of high spirit and dignified manners."

Wilberforce is a name often mentioned in the history of this period. Pitt said—"Of all the men I ever heard, Wilberforce has the greatest natural eloquence." In the opinion of Buxton, he had more wit than either Canning or Tierney: "but he takes no pains, and allows himself to wander from his subject." The truth was, Wilberforce was more ambitious of doing good, than of achieving parliamentary fame. He had early renounced the world and fashionable life, and the allurements of rank and power, and devoted his time, wealth, and brains to the annihilation of the slave-trade. He succeeded at last; and Lord Palmerston entered parliament just in time to hear Sir Samuel Romilly, amidst echoing cheers, congratulate Mr. Wilberforce on his success. Sir Samuel tells us how he entreated young members of parliament to let this day's event be a lesson to them; he asked them to remember how much the rewards of virtue exceeded those of ambition; and then contrasted the feelings of the French emperor, in all his greatness, encircled with kings, with those of the honoured individual who would that day lay his head upon his pillow, and remember that the slave-trade was no more. "They had seen," writes Bishop Porteus, "the unwearied assiduity with which, during twenty years, he had vainly exhausted all the expedients of wisdom; and when they saw him entering, with a prosperous gale, the port whither he had been so often driven, they welcomed him with applause such as was scarcely ever before given to any man sitting in his place in either House of parliament." Well might Wilberforce be, as he tells us he was, quite overcome.

On the opposition benches we find Tierney, of whom Buxton tells us, that "his talents were surpassing. He had the most delicate wit. Everybody we heard was [this was written in 1836] coarse, blunt, and gross compared to him."

Clearly ministers have it all their own way. Yet we must not omit, that, opposed to them, are Samuel Romilly—"feeling, moral, and elevated" (we quote Wilberforce)—and Whitbread, who tried to get the House to agree to the education of the children of the poor, and was a stout opponent of abuse of every kind. "He was," writes Sir Samuel Romilly, "the promoter of every liberal scheme for improving the condition of mankind; the warm and zealous advocate of the oppressed in every part of the world; and the undaunted opposer of every species of corruption and ill administration. The only faults he had proceeded from an excess of his virtues. His anxious desire to do justice impartially to all men, certainly made him, upon some occasions, unjust to his friends, and induced him to give credit, and bestow praises on his political enemies, to which they were in no respect entitled." Wilberforce even confesses, that Whitbread, with all his coarseness, had an Anglicism that rendered him a valuable ingredient in a British House of Commons.

Mr. Ponsonby deserves notice here, not merely as being in opposition, and as the proposer of the motion which forced from Lord Palmerston his maiden speech, but as the occasion of his lordship's figuring as a writer. There is a collection of fugitive pieces still extant, entitled the *New Whig Guide*. It consists of satirical and humorous effusions, which appeared in ministerial prints during the first twenty years of this century, and which were afterwards republished in a volume. From it we extract the following sketch of Ponsonby, supposed to be the handiwork of the late Premier:—"They call a short and squattish gentleman the name of Ponsonby their leader; but my mind misgives me if there be not more than one-half who are loth to follow him. The leader is verily, as he ought to be, a very cautious guide, and rarely propoundeth he anything which can be contradicted or objected to. There is so much sameness and discretion in his style, that I can enable thee to judge of any quantity of it by a small sample. Discoursing of a treaty of peace, quoth the leader, 'I cannot pronounce an opinion upon this treaty, Mr. Speaker, until I have read it. No one has a right, Mr. Speaker, to call upon me for an opinion upon this treaty until I have read it. This treaty cannot be printed and in the hands of members before Tuesday next at noon; and then, and not till then, Mr. Speaker, will I for one form my opinion upon this treaty. I am not such a fool as I am generally supposed to be.' Here he pauseth, and raising his spectacles with his hand, and poising them dexterously on his forehead, he looketh steadfastly at the Speaker for some moments."

Nor must we forget Sheridan, who, when tipsy, according to Wilberforce, was infinitely amusing; but of whom it must be confessed that he languished beneath the cold shade of aristocracy. Sheridan's *débüt* in the House was unsuccessful. "It is in me, and by — it shall come out," said he to Woodfall; and for once he spoke the truth. He took pains; he altered his style; he dropped the tawdry rhetoric with which he commenced, and became flippant and smart. One of his best encounters was that with Mr. Pitt, in which the young and audacious minister for once got the worst. Mr. Pitt (says the parliamentary report) was pointedly severe on the gentleman who had spoken against the address, and particularly on Mr. Sheridan. "No man admired more than he did the abilities of that right honourable gentleman—the elegant sallies of his thought, the gay effusions of his fancy, his dramatic turns, and his epigrammatic point; and if they were reserved for the proper stage, they would no doubt receive, what the honourable gentleman's abilities always did receive, the plaudits of his audience, and it would be his fortune *sibi plausu gaudere theatri*. But this was not the proper scene for the exhibition of those elegancies." Mr. Sheridan, in rising to explain, said, that "on the particular sort of personality which the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to make use of, he need not make any comment. The



propriety, the taste, the gentlemanly spirit of it, must have been obvious to the House. But," says Mr. Sheridan, "let me assure the right honourable gentleman, that I do now, and will at any time he chooses to repeat this sort of allusion, meet it with the most sincere good humour. Nay, I will say more. Flattered and encouraged by the right honourable gentleman's panegyrics on my talents, if ever I again engage in the compositions he alludes to, I may be tempted to an act of presumption—to attempt an improvement on one of Ben Jonson's best characters, the character of the Angry Boy in *The Alchemist*." Sheridan's crowning effort was that celebrated Begum speech, whose effect upon its hearers has no parallel in the annals of ancient or modern eloquence. Mr. Burke declared it to be the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there was any record or tradition. Mr. Fox said, all he had ever heard, or that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapour before the sun; and Mr. Pitt acknowledged that it surpassed all the eloquence of ancient and modern times, and possessed everything that art or genius could furnish to agitate and control the human mind. Tributes of a less distinguished character are common enough. Sir William Dolben immediately moved the adjournment of the House, confessing that, in the state of mind in which Mr. Sheridan's speech had left him, it was impossible for him to give a determinate opinion. Mr. Stanhope seconded the motion. When he entered the House he was not ashamed to acknowledge that his opinion inclined to the side of Mr. Hastings; but such had been the wonderful efficacy of Mr. Sheridan's convincing detail of facts, and irresistible eloquence, that he could but say that his sentiments were materially changed. Mr. Montague confessed that he had felt a similar revolution of sentiment. Sheridan is now in his decline. In a short time the fire of his genius will cease to burn; and, when he dies, we shall see, as his biographer, Thomas Moore, says—

"How proud they can press to the funeral array  
Of him whom they shunned in sickness and sorrow;  
How bailiffs may seize his last blanket to-day,  
Whose pall shall be held up by nobles to-morrow."

Another Irishman is also in the House, and in opposition—Henry Grattan, whose eloquence is described, by John Foster, as "distinguished by fire, sublimity, and an immense reach of thought."

In entering the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston evinced no little judgment in quietly biding his time, and feeling his way. The House does not, and never did, like to be taken by storm. Sir Fowell Buxton writes—"Perhaps you will like to hear the impression the House makes on me. I do not wonder that so many distinguished men have failed in it; the speaking required is of a very peculiar kind. The House loves *good sense and joking*—nothing else; and the object of its utter aversion is that species of eloquence which may be called Philippian. There are not three men from whom a fine simile or sentiment would be tolerated: all attempts of the kind are punished with general laughter." In truth, what is called eloquence is rarely heard in the House of Commons—an assembly chiefly of men of business, anxious to get through their labours as quickly as possible. It is not clear that oratory in the House of Commons is less effective than formerly. We are told that a lower style of speaking has been adopted since the House was popularised; but we have no evidence of that; or rather we have evidence pointing in quite an opposite direction. Dr. Knox, writing in 1795, tells us that it would be difficult to name a single peer who has attracted notice or admiration for the classical elegance of his matter or language. The law lords, relying on their professional knowledge, do, indeed, frequently make long and bold speeches. Accustomed to browbeat the evidence at the bar, and dictate on the bench, some of them have retained their insolence and effrontery when advanced to the woolsack. The doctor admits that the House of Commons

has always been esteemed a very distinguished theatre of modern eloquence; and there are "many splendid examples:" but he intimates, that the bravado, or desperate declaimer, is the chief orator; and the good, the wise, and the judicious observer, pities and despises him as an unprincipled brawler, with as little taste in eloquence as oratory, and as the mere rival of the noisy spouters at the forum or "Robinhood." Young as Palmerston was, he adopted the House of Commons' style of speaking; and, while he made no attempt at oratorical display, acquired the habit and the character of a man of business; and when, in 1809, a new ministry was formed, and Canning and Castlereagh quarrelled, fought a duel, and resigned, Palmerston became Secretary of War—a post which he retained for twenty years. Very little do we hear of him at that time. It is, indeed, singular how rarely we find the name of the future Prime Minister in the many volumes of gossiping correspondence that have been published to illustrate the time of the regency, and the reign of George IV. Once he is mentioned as an intimate friend of that monarch's unfortunate consort, Caroline of Brunswick, whom he used to visit and play chess with, when, as Princess of Wales, she resided at Kensington. The description is interesting to us now. The writer says—"Lord Palmerston pays the princess great court: he is not a man to despise any person or thing by which he can hope to gain power: he has set his heart thereon, and most likely he will succeed in his ambition, like all those who fix their minds steadily to the pursuit of one object; though, except a pleasing address, it does not appear that he has any great claim to distinction. There is one strange circumstance connected with him—namely, that though he is *suave* and pleasant in his manner, he is unpopular. The princess is not really partial to him, but conciliates his favour." This passage reveals the wary politician. His hope to gain power was long deferred; but the delay did not make his heart sick. For twenty years he submitted patiently to the yoke of men whom, possibly, he deemed his inferiors; but that patience and endurance met, as they always do, with a rich reward. He was learning his trade—learning to be adroit in fencing off troublesome questions—learning the art of winning friends—of putting a good face on things—of making the worse appear the better argument.

In Canning's time, the oratorical and debating powers of Lord Palmerston were dormant. The Prime Minister once even spoke with regret of the loss he sustained through his Secretary at War. "What would I give," he exclaimed, when wearied with assaults from the opposition benches—"what would I give to get that three-decker, Palmerston, to bear down upon them!"

We may presume the cabinet had the benefit of his votes; and they required them. Up to this time the ministry had been very unfortunate. The convention of Cintra drew after it a long train of disaster and disgrace. One of its first effects was to suspend all the operations of our army in Spain; and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, were summoned to England, in consequence of the inquiry which was instituted into that proceeding, and of which the result was a formal declaration, communicated officially to Sir Hugh Dalrymple, strongly disapproving the terms both of the armistice and the convention.

Another disaster, at this time, was the retreat of the British from Spain, and the death of Sir John Moore at Corunna. In this ill-advised expedition—the blame of which rests on the Spanish junta and Mr. Frere, the British ambassador at Madrid—our brave army lost its ammunition, all its magazines, above 5,000 horses, and 5,000 or 6,000 men. It is true we gained the victory; and Soult, who attacked our forces at Corunna, as feeble, dispirited, and demoralised (they were on the point of embarkation), was driven back with a loss of about 2,000 men. It is also true that the expedition drew Bonaparte from the south, which, at that time, lay entirely at his mercy, and afforded time to the Spaniards to recover, in some degree, from the terrors of their enemy: but, nevertheless, the nation mourned the loss of an able general and his soldiers, who had been compelled thus needlessly to throw their lives away. Sir John Moore, immortalised by Wolfe's ode, had



distinguished himself in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt; and had recently returned from Sweden, where he had been sent, at the head of 10,000 men, to assist the king, against whom war had been declared by Russia, Prussia, and Denmark; but, owing to the capricious conduct of that monarch, he had been constrained to bring back his troops without landing them.

Another failure also occurred at this time, for which Palmerston was not responsible. We refer to the Walcheren expedition. After the breaking out of the war between France and Austria, the English government made preparations for a formidable expedition; and 40,000 troops were assembled, with thirty-five sail of the line, and about 200 sail of smaller vessels. It was the intention of government to have kept its destination secret; but long before its departure, the point of attack was generally known in England, and publicly announced in the French journals. The command of the army was placed in the Earl of Chatham, a man, unfortunately, proverbial for indolence and inactivity. The naval part was under Admiral Sir Richard Strachan. The armament sailed from the Downs on the 28th of July; and, on the 1st of August, 1809, Flushing was invested. The place surrendered, and 5,000 troops were made prisoners of war. Lord Chatham then remained idle, while the French were recruiting their forces, and preparing every obstacle in case the British attempted further proceedings. The earl, however, with a great proportion of the troops, returned to England; and the rest found it expedient to give up all their conquests but the island of Walcheren. This unhealthy spot it was, after much indecision, resolved to keep, for the purpose of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt, and for enabling our shippers to introduce British merchandise into Holland. But, from this island, the sole fruit of one of the most formidable and expensive expeditions ever sent from this country, we were doomed to be driven away by an enemy more fatal and cruel even than Bonaparte. A malady of the most fatal kind soon appeared among the troops, and showed the necessity of their immediate recall; but it was not till the 13th of November, when a great proportion had either died or been rendered incapable of performing their duty, that the fortifications were ordered to be destroyed; and, on the 23rd of December, the island was evacuated, in the sight of an enemy who, aware that the ravages of sickness would render attack unnecessary, had taken no measures to expel them. In the House of Commons, a vote of censure was proposed on the ministers, and nearly carried. In a crowded House they only gained a majority of twenty-one. Out of the failure of this expedition arose the duel between Canning and Castlereagh, and the downfall of the Portland administration. In the new cabinet, of which the Marquis of Wellesley is the head, Palmerston occupies Castlereagh's place.

Ministers had unpleasant work to do. On the 27th of January, 1809, Colonel Wardle stated in the Commons, that the power of disposing of commissions in the army had been exercised for the worst purposes—though it had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth and extensive influence—for the sake of defraying the charges of the half-pay list, and for increasing the compassionate fund for the aid of officers' widows and orphans; but he could bring positive evidence that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different objects. He then proceeded to state, that Mary Anne Clarke, who had lived under "the protection" of the Duke of York, with a splendid establishment, had been permitted by his royal highness to traffic in commissions—that she, in fact, possessed the power of military promotion, and that the duke participated in the profits. In support of this charge Mary Anne herself was examined, and created much amusement by her unblushing effrontery, and the smartness of her answers. Wilberforce describes her as "fascinating the House;" as "elegantly dressed, consummately impudent, and very clever." The ministry made a great mistake in insisting, contrary to Wardle's wishes, that the matter should be referred to a committee of the whole House. The mere exposing to the public, as Sir Samuel Romilly says—that he who was mistakenly supposed to be leading a

moral, decent, and domestic life, was maintaining, at a great expense, a courtesan (the wife, too, of another man), and a woman who had risen from a very low situation in life, could not fail to do him irreparable mischief in the public estimation. More than this came out. It was shown that the duke had been influenced by Mrs. Clarke in granting promotions; and that she had taken money for her services. However, the duke was exculpated by the House of Commons. The king had exerted himself in his favour; the Prince of Wales also intimated that he should consider any attack upon him as an attack upon himself; and only two lawyers had the courage to speak against the duke—Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Martin. The storm blew over; and the duke resigned. He was, however, again appointed commander-in-chief by the prince-regent, in 1811. It was hard work in those days to uproot abuses in high quarters. About the same time, an attempt was made, in the House of Commons, to bring home to Lord Castlereagh an improper traffic in Indian appointments, and corrupt and criminal practices to procure the return of members to parliament. We need not add that the attempt broke down.

Sir Francis Burdett was also committed to the Tower, and Gale Jones to Newgate, by a parliament far more disposed to protect its privileges, than to avenge the aggressions of arbitrary power. It appears that when, in 1810, the Walcheren expedition came to be discussed, the galleries were closed to the public. Whigs and Radicals alike protested against this; and Yorke, who moved the resolution, and Windham, who defended it (and who, in doing so, made an attack on the press worthy of the dark ages), were severely censured in one of the political spouting-clubs of the time, of which Gale Jones was president. Mr. Yorke complained to the House of the breach of privilege; and Mr. Gale Jones was, as we have seen, committed to Newgate for this on the 12th of March. Sir Francis Burdett complained, denying the right of the House, and the legality of the commitment. This speech was published in Cobbett's *Weekly Register*; and it was carried, on the motion of Mr. Lethbridge, that the paper was a gross and scandalous libel, reflecting on the just rights and privileges of the House. Of course the motion was successful; and next it was resolved, that Sir Francis Burdett, who was then immensely popular, should be committed to the Tower. The latter maintained his denial of the power of parliament by refusing to surrender to its warrant—barricading his house in Piccadilly, and actually holding its messengers at bay. He wrote to the sheriffs of Middlesex, appealing to them to protect his person and property from the violence of a military force: to which Mr. Matthew Wood, who happened to be sheriff of the city of London, responded by spending a night in the beleaguered dwelling, and threatening the magistrates with prosecution if any lives were lost by the weapons of the soldiers, of whom there was a considerable force present. The mob, of course, was active, and the windows of the speakers who took part in the debate—especially those of Perceval and Sir J. Anstruthers, where Mr. Lethbridge lived—were broken. The next night there was a collision with the military; the riot act was read; and several persons wounded. Sir Samuel Romilly writes—"Ministers have sent for troops from all parts of the country within 100 miles of London. At length the ministry seem determined to act. Sir Francis Burdett's house was broken open, and he was conveyed to the Tower under a strong military escort of cavalry and infantry. The soldiers were grossly insulted on their return: they fired upon the people," adds Sir Samuel, "and several persons have been killed." Sir Francis, from the Tower, served the Speaker with notice of action; and great meetings were held of the electors of Westminster and Middlesex in his support; who, with the livery of London, sent up petitions, that were rejected as libellous. The trial came on in the Court of Queen's Bench in the following February, and established the supreme authority of the Commons. Sir Francis had to remain in prison till parliament was prorogued.

Lord Palmerston is still almost a silent member of the British senate. The following sentences are extracted from his first speech, delivered in his official



capacity of Secretary at War. After going through the routine pecuniary details of his duty, he concluded his speech with some general remarks on the military aspect of England:—"Our military force is at this moment as efficient in discipline as it is in numbers; and this not only in the regular army, but in the militia, volunteers, and other descriptions of force. We have 600,000 men in arms, besides a navy of 200,000. The masculine energies of the nation were never more conspicuous, and the country never, at any period of its history, stood in so proud and glorious a position as at present. After a conflict, for fifteen years, against an enemy whose power has been progressively increasing, we are still able to maintain the war with augmented force, and a population, by the pressure of external circumstances, consolidated into an impregnable military mass. Our physical strength has risen when it has been called for; and if we do not present the opposition of numerous fortresses to the invaders as the continent does, we present the more inseparable barrier of a high-spirited, patriotic, and enthusiastic people."

In the following May, we find Palmerston making, in his official capacity, a short speech against a proposal to relieve officers in the army from the payment of the property tax, which had been proposed by parliament for the purposes of the war. And we find no further trace of him in the parliamentary debates during this year.

Lord Palmerston, in 1811, succeeded in attaining the height of his first ambition. He was returned for the university of Cambridge.

In these times ministers did not always have their own way. In matters of religion, where conscience is appealed to—where the passions and rivalries of contending sects are aroused—it is always perilous to interfere. Lord Sidmouth found this to be the case when, in 1811, he brought forward a measure for the regulation of the licences of Protestant dissenting ministers. Wilberforce was much troubled about it; and the Methodists resisted it as one man. In forty-eight hours 368 petitions were presented against it in the House of Lords; and when the bill came to be read a second time, on the 21st of May, it was encountered by 500 more. Such an expression of the public feeling was not to be resisted. Ministers themselves, and even dignitaries of the church, opposed the further progress of the measure. On introducing the bill, Lord Sidmouth stated, that till within the last thirty or forty years, the Toleration Act had been construed in such a manner as to exclude all persons unqualified by the want of the requisite talent and learning, and unfit, from the meanness of their situation, or the profligacy of their character, from exercising the influence of ministers of religion; but since that time, all who offered themselves at the quarter sessions, provided they took the oaths, and made the declaration required by law, obtained the requisite certificates, not only as a matter of course, but as a matter of right. To remedy this evil, his lordship proposed, that in order to entitle any man to obtain a licence as a preacher, he should have the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged; and that such congregation should be actually willing to listen to such instruction. Those who were itinerants were to bring a testimonial, stating them to be of sober life and character, together with the belief that they were qualified to perform the functions of preachers. Surely such a measure was uncalled for. The right of a man to hold religious opinions, and to express them, cannot, in a free country, be safely impugned or denied. If one thing be clearer than another—if history teach any one truth at all, it is this—that legislation, in matters of religion, is a difficult and dangerous task. When the state interferes to protect religion, it does more harm than good. Religion is the result of convictions created by influences which the state cannot wield or touch. The relationship sustained by man to God, does not come within the province of the secular legislator.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE PENINSULAR WAR.

WE have already referred to the French invasion of the Spanish peninsula. We return to it again, as, on the whole, it was most flattering to our vanity, most creditable to our soldiers, and most fatal to the continuance of Bonaparte's imperial sway. It is the one bright spot in that fearful struggle into which the nation had been so recklessly plunged. As we already have intimated, England responded to the appeal of the Spanish people to deliver them from a power they hated, and had every reason to hate. As Southey, the poet-laureate of the period, writes—

“ First from his trance the heroic Spaniard woke,  
His chains he broke;  
And casting off his neck the treacherous yoke,  
He called on England—on his generous foe;  
For well he knew that whereso'er  
Wise policy prevailed, or bold despair,  
Thither would Britain's succours flow—  
Her arm be present there.”

It must be remembered, that while our gallant soldiers were gathering deathless laurels on the battle-fields of Spain, Viscount Palmerston was Secretary of War. “To a very large extent, the life of Lord Palmerston, for the next six years,” says one of his biographers, “is identical with the history of the Peninsular war.” We admit it, though we cannot go so far as the same writer, and add—“He was its controlling inspirer and guide. Wellington was the right arm of the nation to a large extent: Palmerston was its head.” The cause of the Spanish patriots had awakened the zeal, and animated the enthusiasm of the people of this country in an extraordinary degree. As far back as 1809, Canning, in reply to Sheridan, had stated in parliament, that “his majesty's ministers saw, with a deep and lively interest, the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country:” and assured the House that there existed the strongest disposition, on the part of the government, to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. When, in the same year, parliament was prorogued, the commissioners declared, in his majesty's name, that he would continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause. And Sir Arthur Wellesley, as commander of the British forces in Spain, had recovered Oporto from Soult, and won the battle of Talavera, for which victory he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Douro and Viscount Wellington. According to the French, Talavera was not a victory. It was Wellesley's opinion, that if the Spaniards had made one forward movement, the French would have been entirely destroyed. As it was, the assailants were driven back from every point, and had to retrace their steps. Their loss amounted to 9,000 killed and wounded, twenty guns, and several hundred prisoners. The British had thirty-six officers, and 767 non-commissioned officers and rank and file, killed, and 3,718 rank and file wounded. The missing were ninety officers and 644 rank and file. The Spanish loss was 1,250 killed and wounded.

Arrived at this point, it becomes us to notice the career of Wellington, destined to be, for many years, England's greatest captain and most distinguished statesman. He was the fifth son of the Earl of Mornington, and was born in



Dublin, in 1769. He was, at an early age, intended for the military profession, having been, for that purpose, educated in France. He had obtained the rank of a field officer before an opportunity occurred of distinguishing himself, which was not till the year 1794, when he displayed military talents in conducting the retreat of three British battalions, part of the army under the command of the Duke of York. As Sir Arthur Wellesley, and lieutenant-colonel of the 33rd regiment, he accompanied that corps to India, soon after his eldest brother, then Earl of Mornington, had been appointed Governor-general of Bengal. In the Madras army destined against Tippoo Sultan, Sir Arthur commanded the subsidiary forces of the Nizam; and, at the storming of Seringapatam, he had charge of the reserve. Soon after, he was entrusted with the command of an expedition against Dhoondia Waugh, a freebooter, who, with a large force, had committed many excesses on the British possessions. Having succeeded in his object, and the Mahratta war breaking out, Wellesley, then a major-general, was appointed to command a body of troops which was destined to defend Poonah against Scindia and Holkar. By a forced march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours, in a difficult country, he saved Poonah from destruction. After taking the fortress of Arvednaygar, Sir Arthur attacked the Mahratta army, and, with a force of only 4,500 men, of whom but 2,000 were Europeans, won the glorious victory of Assaye. The enemy consisted of 50,000 men; 1,200 of them were killed: the wounded covered the country for many miles round; and ninety-eight pieces of cannon, all the camp equipage, bullocks and camels, with a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor.

General Wellesley then pursued, overtook, and defeated the army of the rajah on the plain of Agram; and having taken his only remaining, but almost impregnable fortress, Gawilghur, by escalade, both the Rajah of Berar and Scindia sued for peace, which was concluded by Sir Arthur with a celerity and skill that proved he possessed talents for the cabinet as well as for the field. Having returned to Europe, he took part in the attack on Copenhagen. We next find him in the Spanish peninsula, which he left, after winning the brilliant victory of Vimiera, in high dudgeon, on the occasion of the convention of Cintra.

After the battle of Talavera, Lord Wellesley determined to confine his operations to the defence of Portugal, till a more auspicious state of affairs should arise; and, as the force which this country could send into the field was small, and as the Portuguese troops, at first, could not be expected to rival the British, it was expedient to act where inequality of numbers would be compensated by local and artificial strength, and where he would possess the best means of supplying and increasing his force. Accordingly, he determined to make his stand at Torres Vedras, a position lying near the Tagus, and whence his army could readily receive reinforcements and supplies from England. To give time for improving his lines, Lord Wellington determined, with the force under his command—30,000 British, and 60,000 Spanish and Portuguese—to retard the progress of the enemy as much as possible.

Onward came the French, believing themselves irresistible. First Ciudad Rodrigo, and then Almeida fell into their hands. Massena still pressed after the wisely retreating Wellington. On the Sierra Busaco, a lofty, mountainous range, the latter took his stand. When daybreak arose, on the 27th of September, the battle was begun. Attacks were made at different points by Regnier, Ney, Marchand, and Simon; and very desperate was the fighting on both sides: the British, under Hill, Leith, Picton, Cole, and Craufurd, gallantly holding their ground. Regiment after regiment charged with the bayonet; and the French were driven down the steep with great slaughter. The loss of the British was 107 killed, 493 wounded, and thirty-one prisoners. The Portuguese, who fought gallantly, had ninety killed, 572 wounded, and twenty missing. Of the French—one general, three colonels, thirty-three officers, and 250 privates were made prisoners; 2,000 were left dead on the field; and the wounded are said to have

amounted to 6,000. The next morning, Massena, still greatly superior in numbers, made a flank movement with a view of turning the British left. Lord Wellington, in consequence, quitted the heights; and having issued a proclamation to the Portuguese, calling on them to retire, carrying off or destroying their provisions, cattle, &c.—all of which, like good patriots, they did—he conducted his army to the position which, with that stratagetic skill and admirable forethought which so greatly distinguished him, he had prepared for the defence of Lisbon.

The allies established themselves in the lines of Torres Vedras in the first week of October. On the 10th Massena arrived in their front. His rear had been much harassed, as he advanced, by bodies of militia and peasantry, who took possession of every town as the French moved out. Massena, however, pushed on, feeling convinced that the English were going to their ships, and that he should fulfil his promise to the emperor, of planting the tricolour on the walls of Lisbon. When, therefore, he came in front of the formidable works (the lines extended thirty-one miles) which barred his progress, he was surprised at the scene which awaited him. He and Junot spent three days in examining the works and their defences, and were compelled to pronounce them impregnable. The marshal, therefore, withdrew his troops to a position between Santarem and Thomar, fifty miles to the north-east of Lisbon. There the army was established in the middle of November. Having made all his arrangements, he awaited reinforcements; and despatched General Foy to Paris, to inform the emperor of the exact state of affairs. In these positions the British and French continued for the remainder of the year.

In Spain the French had more success. Their armies there were numerous and well-appointed. Soult had 75,000 men in Andalusia; Bessières, 60,000 at Valladolid, in Biscay, and Leon; Macdonald had 45,000 at Gerona and Hostalrich; Suchet, besides his garrisons, had 30,000 troops in the field; Joseph had 20,000 men at Madrid; and Regnier had 15,000 in Estremadura. The Spanish forces of 80,000 or 90,000 men were alike badly disciplined and officered.

Lord Wellington's expectations were realised. Massena suffered more and more from deficiency of reinforcements and supplies. At length, on the 11th of March he gave orders to retreat. The next day Wellington pursued. On reaching Santarem, it was discovered that the French had used every means to cover their retreat. Sentinels appeared to be still at their posts, but they were men of straw; and all the baggage had been removed. An officer thus described the state of affairs when the allies entered Santarem:—"Smoking ruins everywhere met the eye, with the accumulated filth of months, and the putrified remains of horses and human bodies. The houses had scarcely a vestige of wood; doors, windows, ceilings, roofs, all were burnt; and where the sick had expired they were left to decay. The numbers thus abandoned were very great. Every church was demolished; the tombs opened in searching after hidden plate; every altar-piece destroyed; and the effluvia was so oppressive as to defy description."

On the 5th of April the enemy recrossed the frontier; and the British having blockaded Almeida, where alone a French soldier remained in Portugal except as a prisoner, established themselves in pleasant quarters at Villa Formosa. Quickly Massena returned. In the first week of May the battle of Fuentes d'Onore was fought. The loss of both parties was considerable. The British had 200 killed, 1,028 wounded, and 294 missing. It is estimated that not fewer than 5,000 French soldiers were put *hors de combat*. Massena, in his despatches, claimed a victory, though his right to do so is by no means clear. He came to relieve Almeida; but he abandoned that object, and left the British in possession of the ground from which he had attempted to drive them. After the battle of Fuentes d'Onore, Massena resigned the command of the army of Portugal, and was succeeded by Marmont.

A harder-fought battle was that of Albuera, on the 16th of May, when Soult came up with a force superior to the allies in numbers, but inferior in discipline and daring. Had they been other than British soldiers opposed to him, his victory



would have been complete. As it was, they kept pressing and firing as they advanced, and cheering as only British soldiers can cheer, till they drove the French to the furthest edge of the hill. "In vain," says Sir W. Napier, "did their reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavour to sustain the fight: their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion; and the mighty mass at length giving way, like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after, in streams discoloured with blood; and 1,800 unwounded men, the remnant of 6,000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill."

Wellington had many difficulties to encounter; but he never despaired of ultimate success. The corruption which pervaded every part of the Portuguese administration for some time, paralysed the efforts of Marshal Beresford to recruit and discipline the Portuguese army, and prevented Wellington from receiving the supplies of money and men of which he stood in need. As to the Spaniards, there was not an army in the field worthy of the name. Nor were the British government exempt from blame. The reinforcements in men, sent to Wellington, were very limited; and his lordship says, in one of his despatches—"The miserable and pitiful want of money prevents me from doing many things which might and ought to be done for the safety of the country." However, his career was one of victory. The capture of Valencia, January 9th, 1812, by Suchet, was the last of the French successes in the Peninsula: and Ney, with 35,000 troops, had to leave to fight the battles of Napoleon elsewhere.

With the obstinate tenacity and pluck of an Englishman, Wellington continued his career. On the 19th, Ciudad Rodrigo was captured. Badajos had next to be taken; for his plan was to cross Spain, driving the French before him into their own country; and it was necessary that he should not leave the means of annoyance in his rear. In his dispositions for the siege, by sending the battering train and engineers from Lisbon by sea, as if they were going to Oporto, and making arrangements, apparently, preliminary to the establishment of a magazine beyond the Douro, he concealed the real end of his movements. His preparations were completed by the beginning of March; and, on the 9th, the various divisions under his command commenced their advance, all converging on Badajos. To cover the siege, General Hill was posted at Almendralejo with 30,000 men; and Wellington himself commanded the besieging force of 22,000. The investment was not begun till the 17th; it was completed on the 24th. The bombardment continued till the 5th of April; and, on the 6th, the assault took place. By daylight, after frightful slaughter, the fort was in the hands of the British. In the siege and assault the allies lost 5,000 men; 317 British officers, and 3,344 non-commissioned officers and privates, having perished in the assault. The French had 1,300 killed or wounded, and 3,800 were made prisoners. Large quantities of stores, 170 heavy guns, 5,000 muskets, and 80,000 shot, were found in the various forts and redoubts. The news of the capture alarmed Soult; "for the sole trophy of his Andalusian campaign had thus escaped him: and should Lord Wellington choose to carry forward his operations by Estremadura or Andalusia, all the routes were open to him." Napoleon blamed both Soult and Marmont for permitting the capture of the fortress.

The battle of Salamanca, the commencement, as Thiers confesses, of the ruin of French affairs in Spain, was the next victory of Wellington. The loss of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 7,264 men; that of the French must have been as great. On the 12th of August the allies entered Madrid, where Wellington had a perfect ovation. At that city, however, they were not destined to stay long, as the French troops, who outnumbered the English five to one, were marching on the capital; and as Wellington found the Spanish government there quite unable to provide any resources for the campaign, Madrid was evacuated on the 2nd of November, amidst, we are told, the frequent tears and mournful silence of the inhabitants—a dense mass of whom, men, women, and children, followed

the troops for miles, bewailing their departure. On the same day, Joseph and Marshal Jourdain re-entered the capital. In his retreat, Wellington's forces suffered much. they had a very narrow escape from falling into the hands of Soult; and were not sorry to be safe in quarters again. Meanwhile the fame of the British army and its general resounded all through Europe. The effect in Germany was electric. It revived, in connection with the events in the north, both hope and courage. Men began to believe that the star of Napoleon had set.

In May, 1813, Wellington, as commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, had nearly 200,000 men under his command. On June 3rd, the allied armies were united on the banks of the Douro; and Wellington, as he crossed it, felt that he had now left Portugal for ever. Simultaneously with the advance of the British, the Spaniards, under the Duke del Pasque, advanced from the Sierra Morena into La Mancha; and the Andalusian reserve marched to the bridge of Almaraz, in order to threaten Madrid. Thus the attention of the French was divided; and that concentration of their forces, which alone could have prevented Wellington's strategy from being carried out, was rendered impossible. Valladolid was immediately evacuated; and then the battle of Vittoria was fought, the French sustaining a crushing defeat. Joseph himself had a narrow escape from being captured: and never did victors gain a richer booty in money and pictures, jewellery and plate—to say nothing of implements and munition of war. The battle of Vittoria entirely put an end to any hopes that Joseph might have entertained of establishing himself on the throne of Spain. Six days after the battle, on the 27th of June, Madrid was finally evacuated by the French; and all the authorities of the nation, with those few Spaniards who had become Joseph's partisans, abandoned Old and New Castile, transporting themselves on the other side of the Ebro with the least possible delay.

One more struggle, and the Peninsula was free. Indomitable in spirit, Soult raised another army, again to try the fortune of war. On the ridges of the Pyrenees he came up with the British forces, in numbers very much inferior to his own. Daily there was hard fighting. At length Soult extended and weakened his positions so much, that Wellington attacked the French along their entire line, and completely defeated them. From that day Soult made no further attempt to drive the British from the Pyrenees. He even failed to relieve the fortress of Pampeluna, which fell into Wellington's hands; who now, in his turn, became the assailant. Soult had occupied the delay he gained by the long defence made by the garrison of Pampeluna, in reinforcing his army, and fortifying his position on the northern bank of the Bidassoa, which by nature was well calculated for defence. To the astonishment of the French, the lines were forced, when Soult had to retire into an intrenched camp in front of Bayonne; and for two months the armies of Soult and Wellington lay facing each other. During this period the English and French officers became intimate, and used to meet at a narrow part of the Adour, to talk over the campaign: the men also, in their way, exchanged frequent courtesies with each other.

On the 14th of February, 1814, the allies began their advance into France. At Orthes, where Soult made a stand, the British gained the day. Other engagements followed; Soult retreating, and Wellington pursuing. He came up with the former at Toulouse. On the 10th of April the action began. The Spaniards ran away, as usual; the French and English fought gallantly. At length the latter finally prevailed. The battle of Toulouse was one of the most bloody fought during the war; and the French regained something of the *prestige* they had lost at Vittoria and the Pyrenees, by the determined stand they made against superior numbers. Three days before the battle was fought, Soult received intelligence that the allies had entered Paris; but this only determined him to defend Toulouse to the utmost, because, as it contained extensive establishments of all kinds, it was of the highest importance to prevent it from falling into the hands of the



allies. The loss on both sides was great: that of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 4,669; the French loss was given as 3,200 killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 12th, Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph, and found that a large portion of the inhabitants had mounted the white cockade. Soult retreated rapidly to Carcassonne, where he was joined by Suchet.

The Peninsular war was now over. Wellington remained at Toulouse till the 30th of April, when he left for Paris, where he arrived on the 4th of May. On the 10th he left that city for Madrid; and when he arrived at the Spanish capital, Ferdinand, restored to the throne of his ancestors, confirmed all the honours which the provisional government had granted to the hero, and added to them that of Captain-general of Spain. On the 2nd of June he landed in England; and, soon after, took his seat in the House of Lords, as Duke of Wellington, the name by which he will be known as long as England gratefully preserves the memories of her most distinguished sons.

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## CHAPTER X.

### THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

IN March, 1814, Paris was in the hands of the allies.

On the 1st of April, the senate decreed that Napoleon had forfeited the crown; that the right of succession in his family was abrogated; and that the French people and the French army were absolved from their oaths of allegiance to him.

On the 10th, the treaty of abdication was signed at Fontainebleau. Lord Castlereagh, while giving in his adhesion, objected to it on the following grounds:—1. That it recognised the title of Napoleon as Emperor of France, which England had never yet done, directly or indirectly. 2. That it assigned him a residence, in independent sovereignty, close to the Italian coast, and within a few days' sail of France, while the fires of the revolutionary volcano were not extinct in either country. The protest had no effect at the time; but had his lordship stood firm, how many thousands of valuable lives would have been saved! At Elba Napoleon could safely bide his time. Nor was it long before Bourbon folly gave him the opportunity he required.

In March, 1815, Bonaparte was once more in France, received by his old soldiers, and by the fickle French, with open arms. Even Ney, who had left Paris with a promise to Louis that he would bring back Bonaparte bound hand and foot in an iron cage, went over to the emperor. The king and the princes fled, and Bonaparte again slept in the Tuileries.

The allies would listen to no terms of peace short of the abdication of the emperor: and war was inevitable.

Wilberforce tells us that Wellington left England to meet Bonaparte, quite confident as to the ultimate result. In other quarters the news created considerable apprehensions. Sir Samuel Romilly, in his diary, writes—"So sudden, complete, and bloodless a revolution more resembles fiction than history. Napoleon seems, as it were, at his own pleasure, and just at his own season, quietly to have resumed his empire. But what a dreadful prospect is thus suddenly opened to mankind! What dismay must not these tidings strike into the hearts of hundreds of thousands of human beings, in every station of life, from the throne to the cottage! What a deluge of blood must be shed! How various and terrible the calamities which are now impending over states and over individuals!"

The issue was to be decided in Belgium—a country which, for ages, has been the theatre of war. The Duke of Wellington, as commander of the allied forces, arrived there on the 15th of April. Prince Blucher was at the head of the Prussian army of 141,600. It occupied the line from the Meuse and Sambre to beyond Charleroi. The army under Wellington in person, consisting of 90,070, extended from the Prussian right to beyond the Scheldt. Bonaparte had collected together 122,484 men.

The French emperor commenced operations successfully. On the 15th, the Prussians were driven back from Charleroi. At Ligny they suffered dreadfully. Their retreat rendered the English position at Quatre Bras, where there had been some hard fighting, untenable; and Wellington resolved to retire on Waterloo, a village nine miles south-east of Brussels, where, something more than a century before, Marlborough had cut off a large division of the French force opposed to him. The English took up a position in front of Waterloo, on either side of the high road from Charleroi to Brussels. Napoleon followed, and arranged his forces across the same road, in a parallel line with the English, his head-quarters being La Belle Alliance: he had with him 80,000 men. Wellington had 69,686; and Blucher, at Wavre, had 86,000. On the night of the 17th of June it rained in torrents; and it was not till eleven on the morning of the 18th that the emperor commenced his attack. The story of Waterloo has been told too often to need repetition here. A military historian says—"The fight of Waterloo may easily be comprehended by stating that, for ten hours, it was a continued succession of attacks of the French columns on the squares, the British artillery playing on them as they advanced, and the cavalry charging when they receded." All remember how the farm-house of La Sainte Hay was taken and retaken; how repeated attacks were made upon Hougomont; how the Scot's Greys charged in a manner which excited even the admiration of Napoleon; how the old imperial guard, under Ney, dashed up against the British, to be driven back by British bayonets; how the eagle eye of Wellington was everywhere; how despair seized upon the French, in spite of the presence of the emperor; how they fled; and how Wellington pursued, till, at Genappe, late at night, he was joined by Blucher, who continued the pursuit; and a murderous one it was: and how the British, victorious, but fatigued and exhausted, bivouacked on the field of Waterloo. All this has been said and sung times without number, and need not be told here. Suffice it to say, that when, on the 19th, the French reached the Sambre, which they had crossed four days before, a triumphant army, only 40,000 remained, and they had only with them twenty-seven guns.

The slaughter at Waterloo was immense. The British had 1,417 killed, 4,923 wounded, and 582 missing. The King's German Legion, Hanoverian, Brunswick, Nassau, and Belgian loss, was—killed, 1,530; wounded, 5,006; missing, 2,105. The number of Prussians killed was 1,255; wounded, 4,387; missing, 1,386: grand total, 22,591. The loss of the French was much greater. The British officers estimated that at least 25,000 were killed and wounded on the field; and of those sabred in the pursuit no account could be given. For long did the field of battle present a melancholy spectacle, with its dead, rich and poor, private and officer, all mixed in one ghastly mass. Sadder sights were to be seen—the mother weeping for her first-born; the tender maiden for her beloved and brave.

And where was the emperor, to whose ambition there had been offered up this human holocaust! Not mourning for his slain; but wildly grasping at the shadow of a power, the reality of which had passed from him for ever. In the early morning of the 21st of June he was at the Elysée, which his brothers Lucien and Joseph had prepared for his reception. Then he sent for Caulaincourt, and found, that morning, it had been known in Paris that the battle was lost on the 18th, and that France had no longer a grand army. That army, he told Caulaincourt, performed prodigies; but a sudden panic seized it, and all was lost. "Ney," he continued, "conducted himself like a madman. He caused my cavalry to be massacred. I can do no more. I must have two hours' repose, and a



warm bath, before I can attend to business." At the expiration of that time he again consulted with Caulaincourt, expressing his opinion that nothing but a dictatorship would save the country; and that a majority of the Chamber—a very mistaken opinion—were in his favour. When the Chamber met, the abdication of Bonaparte was suggested. In vain Lucien reproached them for not evincing more ardour, devotion, and constancy to the emperor. He was ably replied to by M. de Lafayette. "By what right," he asked, "is the nation accused of a want of energy and devotion towards the Emperor Napoleon? It has followed him to the burning sands of Egypt, and the icy deserts of Moscow, in fifty battle-fields, in disaster as well as triumph. In the course of ten years, 3,000,000 of men have perished in his service. We have done enough for him: now it is our duty to serve our country." Bonaparte had to submit to the Chambers. He dictated his abdication—offering himself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France: he declared his political life terminated; proclaimed his son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of France; instituted the ministers as a provisional council of government; and recommended that the Chambers should immediately enact a law for the organisation of the regency. His abdication was dated from the palace of the Elysée, June 22nd, 1815. France accepted the abdication, but refused the emperor's conditions. Just then it had had enough of the Bonapartes. On the 27th, he wrote to the Chambers, offering his services as general, wishing only to be considered the first soldier of his country. His offer was at once refused.

Then came days of unparalleled baseness, treachery, and intrigue. Bonapartist, Bourbonist, Orleanist, and Republican, were alike struggling and plotting; and the infamous Fouché was coolly listening to all, and betraying all. Unfortunately the event was decided *for* France, not *by* France. The allies advanced on Paris, and the Bourbons came back in their train. Wellington—or the English government, of which he was the representative—had got it into his head that the best interests of France and Europe required the restoration of the Bourbons; and on this condition alone were they prepared to treat. On the 4th of July they entered Paris. Prussian soldiers occupied the Tuileries. English troops kept guard over the Chambers, and locked out patriotic and indignant peers and deputies. On the 8th, Louis XVIII. was re-seated on his throne, not by the acclamations of a grateful and attached people, but by foreign soldiers, who had learnt, in many a bloody field, to execrate the name and arms of France.

"The unhappy king," writes Romilly, "to whom nothing but the lowest adulation can have given the name of 'the long-desired,' seems so little to have been wished for by his subjects, that he has been obliged to come among them in the train of an insolent invading army; and it is by those invaders that he is at this moment maintained upon his throne. Never, surely, was humiliation greater than that which must be suffered by this ill-fated prince—condemned, from the very windows of his palace, to see, with shame, foreign armies giving the law to what his predecessors used to call their good city of Paris."

The French soon turned against the allies. Romilly, who was in Paris in 1815, says—"The French complain of the perfidy of the allied powers. They approached Paris professing hostility only to Bonaparte, and those who were armed in his support; and when, with these professions, they had lulled the country into a fatal security—when they succeeded in numbing the feelings of the people—when they had gained possession of Paris by a convention, in which safety was promised to all who acted under the usurper; and when they had induced the army which was on the banks of the Loire to disband;—then, and not till then—not till by artifice they had made all resistance impossible, did they begin to talk about inflicting punishment on the nation, and requiring from it securities, and exacting indemnities and contributions."

Bonaparte retired to Malmaison, where the true wife of his bosom, the companion of his earlier days and brighter fortunes, had but recently breathed her last. He remained there six days, his own wish being to embark for America;

and the provisional government offered him every facility in their power to enable him to do so. They sent General Becker to escort him to Rochefort, from which place it was thought he might embark for the west. When he reached that port, he found that the British cruisers kept such a strict watch, that he had no chance of getting away. "It is doubtful," says Mr. Wright, in his *History of France*, "when Napoleon first arrived at Rochefort, whether he did not contemplate once more resuming his imperial functions. He had travelled from Malmaison with all the pomp of an emperor; an immense number of carriages following him, in which he had collected the spoils of the palace he had just left, and of others that were within his reach; and on his route he received proofs of attachment from both troops and people. He remained, balancing various schemes in his mind, till the 12th of July: on that day he received intelligence of the dissolution of the provisional government and the Chambers, and of the entrance of Louis XVIII. into Paris. He then threw himself on the generosity, as he expressed it, of the English." The *Bellerophon*, under Captain Maitland, was cruising off Rochefort; and Napoleon sent Las Casas to the captain, to solicit leave to proceed to America, either in a French or a neutral vessel. Captain Maitland replied, that "his instructions forbade him to comply with this request; but if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there on board the *Bellerophon*; without, however, entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with, he being totally ignorant of what the intentions of the British government were as to his future destination." Napoleon then wrote the following letter to the prince-regent:—

"Your Royal Highness,—Struck at by the factions which divide my country, and by the hostility of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I have, like Themistocles, to place myself beside the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of its laws, and claim that protection from your royal highness, as the powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.—NAPOLEON."

This letter was sent to Captain Maitland, who offered to forward General Gourgaud as the bearer at once to London; adding, that "if Napoleon went to England, he could not make any stipulation as to his reception. When he arrived there he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of the prince-regent." On the 15th he embarked on board the *Bellerophon*, saying to Captain Maitland, as he stepped on deck—"I come to place myself under the protection of your prince and laws." He was received with the honours due to the military rank of a general, which he was considered to hold; and he appeared pleased with the attention paid to him on board. On the 24th of July the vessel arrived off Torbay, and the letter was immediately forwarded to London. It is very probable that, if England had stood alone in the transaction, his appeal would have been successful; but she was bound to act with her allies; and after his breach of the solemn engagements he entered into a little more than twelve months previously, it could scarcely be expected that any terms short of those which would absolutely preclude such another violation of faith would be conceded.

On the 31st of July, Admiral Lord Keith, and Sir Henry Bunbury, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, arrived at Torbay, and went on board the *Bellerophon*, for the purpose of informing Napoleon that it was the irrevocable determination of the allies that he should not remain in Europe, and that St. Helena would be his future place of residence, under such surveillance as would preclude all possibility of evasion. At first he remonstrated violently against such treatment, and said it was a breach of the agreement under which he had delivered himself up; exclaiming, when he heard of the place of his future residence—"It is worse than the cage of Bajazet."

On the 6th of August Bonaparte was transferred to the *Northumberland*, the flag-ship of Sir George Cockburn. Before leaving the *Bellerophon*, he told Captain Maitland that he certainly had made no conditions on coming on board his ship; that he only claimed hospitality; and that he had no reason to complain of the



captain's conduct. The *Northumberland* sailed on the 7th. On the 10th of October the prisoner was landed on the little rock in the Atlantic, where he was destined to spend the remainder of his life.

Little time was lost in sending Bonaparte from Europe, where his presence certainly would have very much tended to retard any satisfactory settlement. "When he was in this country, the news-writers," says Romilly, "loaded him with the lowest and meanest abuse; while some individuals took a strange interest in his fate. Sir Francis Burdett called upon me this morning, and told me that if the moving for a writ of *habeas corpus* would procure him his liberty, or in any way be useful to him, he would stand forward to do it. I told him that I thought that Bonaparte could not possibly derive any benefit from such a proceeding." If Lord Eldon be a good authority, Bonaparte was sent off before ministers knew, with certainty and exactness, what passed between him and Captain Maitland, and in what manner Napoleon understood that he was received on board a British ship.

By a convention signed at Paris on the 29th of August, between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the British government was entrusted with the custody of the exile's person; and proper precautions were taken to prevent his escaping from St. Helena as he had from Elba. Las Casas, General Bertrand and his wife, and several other adherents accompanied him. But for Bonaparte there was little peace on earth. He lived in a constant state of agitation and strife; resisting regulations which he could not break; and causing a stricter surveillance to be kept over him than would have been the case had he resigned himself to his fate. Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed governor of St. Helena in July, 1816, was greatly censured by him for his tyranny and overbearing oppression. It was alleged that restraints were imposed, and privations exacted, which the most timid caution could not justify; and that a system of petty insults and puerile annoyances was adopted, which produced upon such a mind as Bonaparte's, more cruel tortures than if his body had been fettered with the heaviest chains. On a fair investigation of all that Napoleon and his friends have written, it really appears that it was his own conduct that caused those exercises of authority, of which he so much complained; that Sir Hudson Lowe only obeyed the orders of his superiors, and that not so strictly as Napoleon would have insisted that an officer of his own should have done under similar circumstances. Those orders were, that he should be treated with all the respect due to his rank as a general, and receive "every indulgence consistent with security against his escape." He had every comfort and luxury the isle could afford. Sir Hudson Lowe had a difficult office to fill; as it was impossible for him, or for any one, under the circumstances, to have acted so as to win the approbation of his illustrious captive. Whoever the gaoler, Bonaparte would have been sure to have found fault; and the fact of his escape from Elba, of course rendered a vigilance necessary which otherwise would not have been required.

It is clear that Napoleon was not in reality badly treated. M. Capefigue and La Maiterre, both French historians, confess as much. The latter says—"The sum of 300,000 francs, often added to by additional grants, was appropriated, by the government of England, to the cost of the table provided for the exiled emperor's little Court. Bertrand, the marshal of the palace, his wife and son; M. and Madame Montholon; General Gourgaud, and Dr. O'Meara, the *valet-de-chambre*; Marchand, Cipriani, *maitre d'hôtel*; Priéron, chief of office; Rosseau, keeper of the plate; St. Denys; Noverras, his usher; Santini, and a train of valets, cooks, and footmen, formed the establishment. A library; ten or twelve saddle-horses; gardens; woods; rural labours; constant and free communication between all the exiles; correspondence, under certain regulations, with Europe; receptions and audiences given to travellers who arrived in the island, and were desirous of obtaining an interview with the emperor;—such were the daily amusements of Longwood. Pickets of soldiers, under the command of an officer, watched the

circuit of the building and its environs: a camp was established at a certain distance, but out of sight of the house, so as not to offend the inmates. Napoleon and his officers were at liberty to go out on foot or on horseback, from daybreak to nightfall; and to go over the whole extent of the island, accompanied only by an officer at a respectful distance, so as to prevent all attempt at escape." Such was the respectful captivity which the complaints of Napoleon, and of his companions in exile, styled "the dungeon and martyrdom of St. Helena."

In a little while, however, that perturbed spirit was at rest. On the 5th of May, 1821, Bonaparte breathed his last. The news produced very little effect in this country, or on the continent. He had become a name, and nothing more. In England agriculturists were complaining of distress; politicians were beginning to whisper, in imperious accents, "Reform." George IV. in particular, and the nation in general, were being a good deal troubled by his injured wife; and besides, there was a royal coronation in Westminster Abbey to take place.

The disease of which Bonaparte died was cancer in the stomach: his father had also died of it at the early age of thirty-five. In the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn, the visitor is still shown the affected organ, as it appeared after death. Whatever impetuosity and irritability Bonaparte displayed in his life, he bore the excruciating torment attendant on his malady with a fortitude which forbade a single complaint to escape his lips. His thoughts, in his last moments, were apparently fixed upon his son, and upon France. The bust of the young prince was placed, at his express command, by his bed-side. It was the object to which his eyes were constantly turned, and of his latest thoughts. The last words he uttered were, "*Tête!*" "*Armée!*" "*Fils!*" "*France!*"

Bonaparte was buried in a spot he had expressly selected as his final resting-place. It was in a wild, sequestered little valley, about a mile distant from his residence, and very near a spring, over which the branches of two willow-trees formed a delightful shade. Here he loved to remain musing alone. Here, in this secluded spot, was interred, with military honours, the man who, in his lifetime, had given the law to Europe, and had built for himself a more than imperial throne.

In after-times France welcomed back the ashes of her hero. They are now deposited in a stately tomb in the Hôtel des Invalides, in accordance with the following words in the emperor's will:—"Je désire que mes cendres reposent sur les bords de la Seine, au milieu de ce peuple Français, que j'ai tant aimé."

"When the winding-sheet was unrolled," writes one who formed part of the expedition in 1840, to convey the emperor's remains to France, "he was once more visible. His features, though somewhat changed, were perfectly recognisable. The hands were white, and characteristically beautiful as ever. Even the favourite costume of the imperial guard remained still entire, or nearly so; also the epaulettes, decorations, and hat."

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE SETTLEMENT OF EUROPE.

THE European coalition against Bonaparte had triumphed; and once more its leaders entered the French capital. On the 29th of March, 1814, they issued a proclamation, in which the citizens were told that "the allies were under their walls; their object being to obtain a sound and durable peace with France. The allied sovereigns desired to found in France a beneficent government, which should strengthen her



alliance with all nations; and, in the present circumstances, it was the duty of the Parisians to hasten the general pacification." They were assured, that, "the preservation of their city, and of their tranquillity, should be the object of their allies;" that "troops should not be quartered upon them;" and they were called upon to justify "the confidence which Europe placed in their patriotism and prudence." The citizens were appeased by this proclamation; and became still more so when they learnt that "the allied sovereigns had come, neither to conquer nor to rule France, but to learn and support what France deemed most suitable for its welfare." Thus it was, that when the allied sovereigns entered Paris they met with a cordial reception. It was mid-day when Alexander and the King of Prussia, accompanied by Prince Schwartzberg, Lord Cathcart, Lord Burghersh, and a brilliant suite, entered the city by the Porte St. Martin. A large crowd had assembled, and on all sides resounded the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur Alexander!*" "*Vive le Roi de Prussé!*" "*Vivent les Allies!*" "*Vivent les Libérateurs!*" As they passed along the crowds increased, and the windows were filled with elegantly-dressed females, many of whom, as they waved their white handkerchiefs, exclaimed, "*Vivent les Bourbons!*" Many of the fair sex in the streets begged to be taken up on the horses of the officers, that they might have a better view. Their conduct excited the indignation of Savery, who says—"There were to be seen ladies, and even ladies of rank, who so far forgot the respect due to themselves as to give way to the most shameful delirium. They eagerly broke through the circle of horses which surrounded the Emperor of Russia, and testified an *empressement* more fitted to excite contempt than to conciliate kindly feeling." Perhaps it would have been as well had the ladies kept clear of the distinguished group, in whose hands the settlement of Europe was then placed. It is to be feared that a good deal of mischief was done by them. Alexander, at any rate, was considerably under their power. His permission to the fascinating Hortense to remain in Paris, undoubtedly paved the way for Bonaparte's last desperate struggle for a throne. In May, a definitive treaty of peace was signed in Paris, by which the integrity of the French boundaries, as they existed on January 1st, 1792, was assured, with some small additions on the side of Germany and Belgium, and a more considerable annexation on that of Savoy. The navigation of the Rhine was declared free. Holland, under the sovereignty of the House of Orange, was to receive an increase of territory. The German states were to be independent, and united by a federal league. Switzerland to be independent, under its own government. Italy, out of the limits of Austria, to be composed of sovereign states. Malta, and its dependencies, to belong to Great Britain. France recovered all the colonies, settlements, and fisheries which she possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, excepting Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Mauritius, which were ceded to England; and a part of St. Domingo, which was to revert to Spain. The King of Sweden renounced, in favour of France, his claims on Guadaloupe; and Portugal restored French Guiana. In her commerce with British India, France was to enjoy the facilities granted to the most favoured nations, but not to erect fortifications on the establishments restored to her. Plenipotentiaries were to meet at Vienna, to complete the treaty. The King of France engaged to co-operate with the King of England in putting an end to the slave-trade.

Blind to the future, and congratulating each other on the satisfactory settlement at which they had arrived, the statesmen and sovereigns of the continent came to England for a holiday. London, on this occasion, was gayer than it had ever been before. The prince-regent and his guests dined magnificently in the Guildhall. The burst of joy which overspread the land was proportionate to the length and danger of the struggle, and the completeness, as it was then thought, of its ultimate success. Not Courts and cities only, but even the ancient rest of the universities was disturbed by the universal exultations. "*Ergo omnis longo solvit se Teueria luctu.*" England entertained, in right royal style, the Emperor of Russia, and his sister, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh; the King of Prussia and

his sons, with the most distinguished of the allied generals, including Blücher, Platteau, Barclay de Tolly, Czernichoff, and Bülow. They came over in the sunny month of June; and, for three weeks (when they returned), galas, feastings, and illuminations were universal.

The gaieties of London were transferred to Vienna, where the European potentates and plenipotentiaries next assembled. For some time there was little but festivity, flirtation, and intrigue. "The congress dances," said a wit, "but does not advance." Gentz, the *confidante* of all parties, does not, in his *Memoirs*, leave an impression on our minds very flattering to the men who played the part of leading actors on that stage. He describes Metternich as "light, dissipated, and presumptuous." Some of the entries are ludicrous. Gentz writes—"Sept. 2nd. Went to Prince Metternich: long conversation with him, not, unhappily, on public affairs, but on his and my relations with Madame de Sagau." Of this lady we may remark, parenthetically, that she carried the liberty of divorce to such an extent, as to enable her to play at whist with three husbands, while a fourth betted on her. But let us again listen to Gentz. He writes—"On the 14th, returned to Metternich; conversation with him. Alas! the unhappy *liaison* with La Windischgratz, which still appears to interest him more than the affairs of this world." We give another extract:—"22nd. Dined with Metternich, at Nesselrode's. M—— informs me of his definitive rupture with the duchess, which is, at present, an event of the first order." One entry more will suffice to give our readers an idea as to the way in which business was managed:—"Visited the King of Denmark; talked an hour with him. Then Metternich: a long conversation with him—constantly turning more on the confounded women than on business." How the Russian czar was inspired and influenced by that white-robed mystic, Madame Krudener, all the world knows well. In that assembly, however, there was one clear head—that of Talleyrand, who came demanding that France should be heard in that congress of European powers. He pleaded his country's cause before the emperors of Russia and Austria; the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Würtemberg; and the ambassadors of England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy, and the minor states of Germany. One of the first acts of the congress was to recognise a new royal title annexed to the British crown, and to confirm to Hanover the rank of a kingdom: the title of Elector being unsuitable to present circumstances by the 6th article of the treaty of Paris, by which it was agreed that the states of Germany should remain independent and joined in a federal union. In Italy, the territories formerly possessed by the House of Sardinia were restored to Victor Emanuel; and, in spite of a promise made by Lord William Bentinck, to the Genoese, that their ancient republic would be restored to its former independence, it was handed over to the Sardinian monarch. Venice was also handed over to Austria. Of all the sovereigns by right of French conquest, Murat alone held his possessions undisturbed. But these arrangements were not made without considerable difficulty. The high contracting parties were not easy to please as to their share of the plunder. Russia claimed Poland, and Prussia Saxony, as the reward of their exertions. Castlereagh, at first, gave his consent; but recalled it, on orders from home, where it offended all parties; and, more than once, war seemed inevitable between the allies themselves. However, the return of Bonaparte made them sensible of their folly and danger. As soon as the news of that event reached Vienna, they issued a solemn manifesto, in which they declared, that by breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended: that, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he had deprived himself of the protection of the law, and had manifested to the universe that there could be neither peace nor truce with him: that he had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance. The allies, at the same time, expressed their firm determination to maintain entire the treaty of



Paris, and to employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to prevent the peace of Europe from being again troubled. By a treaty which was signed on the 25th of March, 1815, by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia, the four powers engaged to unite their forces against Bonaparte. A second treaty, which was kept secret, bound those powers to prosecute the war until the complete subjugation of Napoleon was effected. The ratifications of both these documents were interchanged on the 25th of April—the English government declaring that the allies were bound by these agreements to make a united effort to displace Napoleon Bonaparte; but they must not be understood as obliging his Britannic majesty to continue the war for the purpose of forcing the people of France to accept any particular government.

The allied sovereigns also decided those questions connected with Poland and Saxony which had threatened the disruption of their alliance. By treaties signed on the 3rd of May, between Russia and Saxony, Prussia and Russia, the King of Saxony gave up the grand duchy of Warsaw, with which Napoleon had invested him; the fortress of Thorn, and its dependent territory, were ceded to Prussia; the remainder of the duchy was erected into a separate kingdom, and annexed to Russia; Cracow, with a small surrounding territory, and a population of about 60,000, was declared to be a free and independent republic. By another treaty between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the former undertook to pay to the three latter a subsidy of £5,000,000, to be paid monthly, in equal proportions. Russia was to receive a sum equal to four months' subsidy, and Austria and Prussia one equal to two months' subsidy, should the war be at an end within a year after the treaty was signed, to enable them to provide for the return of their troops to their own country. The following subsidies were also agreed to be paid by Great Britain:—To Hanover, £206,590; Italy and the Netherlands, £78,152; Portugal, £110,000; Spain, £147,333; Sweden, £521,061; and the minor powers, £1,724,000. As usual, English gold had to pay for all. Such has been the rule whenever England has had an ally on the continent. One of our earliest religious reformers, in his *Practices of Popish Prelates*, writes—"That the Frenchmen of late days made a play, or a disguising, at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and French king, and wearied them, the King of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on; and when it was asked why he danced not?—it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages only, as who should say we paid for all men's dancing." In the present instance, for the dancing of kings and emperors we had to pay rather a heavy price. Bonaparte a second time put down, a second time the allies were on the point of quarrelling. The Emperor Alexander was dissatisfied with the restoration effected under the influence of England; and the Duke of Wellington had arrived in Paris on the 10th of July, says M. Guizot, "stern, and angrily disposed towards the king and his ministers." However, peace was made, and a Bourbon was seated on an uneasy throne. The Bonapartists were proscribed; Ney was shot—a step on the part of the government, if not a crime, at any rate a blunder. In many parts of France the most frightful atrocities were committed on the Bonapartists; the army of the Loire was disbanded, and the flag of the Bourbons replaced the revolutionary tricolour.

The death of Ney requires a fuller notice at our hands than that of the other parties who fell victims to the reactionary spirit of the restoration. The odium of it rests in part on the Duke of Wellington. Ney's crime was, that he had joined Napoleon when he escaped from Elba. He returned, after the battle of Waterloo, to Paris; and, by his bold exposition in the Chamber of Peers, on the 22nd of June, of the real facts and consequences of the battle, materially assisted in driving Bonaparte from power. In that speech he maintained that the allies would be before Paris in a week. His prediction was accomplished; and, on the morning of the 3rd of July, it seemed probable that, in the evening, a battle would be fought more disastrous to France, and particularly to Paris, than any event in the

history of the French nation. Davoust, commanding the artillery defending the town, had a large body of infantry—80,000 men, according to M. Berryer—25,000 cavalry, and between 400 and 500 pieces of field artillery—a force, as Mr. Senior remarks, insufficient for victory, but sufficient to maintain a contest destructive of the city in which it was to take place.

Already the firing had begun, when the provisional government and Davoust sent to propose a negotiation, of which the bases were to be the withdrawing of the allied forces, on the one hand, and the preservation of Paris, and the security of all who inhabited it, on the other. On these terms the convention of the 3rd of July, 1815, was framed and ratified by the Duke of Wellington and Blücher, on the part of the allies, and by Davoust on that of the provisional government. The 12th article provided, that all the inhabitants, and, generally, all persons found in Paris, should continue to enjoy their full rights and liberty, and should not be liable to any molestation or inquiry whatsoever with relation to their functions, to their conduct, or their political opinions. It appears that this was the clause to which the defenders of Paris attached most importance. Had it been refused, negotiations were to have been broken off, and the battle was to have commenced.

Relying on the protection given him by this convention, Ney remained in Paris till the 6th of July, and continued in France until the 3rd of August, when he was arrested on a charge of treason. Owing to various causes the trial did not take place till the 4th of December.

In the meanwhile Ney had applied to the ministers of the allied powers, and required them to interfere. Their answer, drawn up by the Duke of Wellington, and adopted by the ministers of Austria and Prussia, stated, that “the object of the 12th article was to prevent the adoption of any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any persons in Paris, on account of the offices which they had filled, or their conduct, or their political opinions; but it was not intended, and could not be intended, to prevent either the existing French government, or any French government which should succeed to it, from acting, in this respect, as it might deem fit.”

Madame Ney next sought the aid of Lord Holland, and requested him to lay Ney's memorial before the prince-regent. It was done; but the only effect was a letter from Lord Liverpool, referring her to the communication already made to her husband by the Duke of Wellington. Lord Holland now addressed a powerful letter to Lord Kinnaird, then in Paris, in order that he might show it to the duke. Unfortunately it arrived the day after the sentence had been executed. His lordship argued—“How can such a man as Wellington assert that the impunity for political conduct extends only to impunity from the allies for offences committed against them? When ships, when garrisons surrender, do the captains or commanders stipulate that the foreign conqueror shall not molest them for their political exertions? With or without such stipulations, what shadow of right has a foreign enemy to punish individuals for opinions held, or conduct pursued, in their own country? It is clear that the immunity promised was for crimes, real or supposed, against a French government. If the French government was a party to that promise, by that promise it must abide. If not, the other allies are bound, in honour, not to deliver a town taken in virtue of it without exacting the same terms from those to whom they deliver it.

“Such, perhaps, is the formal, technical way of putting the argument. Practically and substantially, the case, if not more striking, is yet more conclusive to men of justice and honour. The allies have virtually, I might say formally too, been masters of Paris, while the persons who delivered it to them on the faith of impunity for political offences, have, for those offences, been imprisoned, sentenced, and executed. Wellington himself has precluded all doubt on the subject. He maintains, in his letter to Lord Castlereagh, that there is no article in the capitulation securing to the town of Paris the pictures and statues; and therefore, he



argues—and he acts on his argument—that the allies, &c., may seize the pictures without any fresh or formal cession from Louis XVIII. Up to that time, then, the allies were, according to him, in military possession of Paris; and up to that time, then, according to his own view of the matter, the inhabitants were entitled to claim impunity for all political opinions and conduct. Those who had the right and the power of taking, forcibly from Paris, property not specified or disposed of in the capitulation, notwithstanding the nominal government of Louis XVIII., must surely have a right to enforce, on any such nominal and dependent government, the observance of promises on the faith of which the town had surrendered."

Unfortunately for the fame of the Duke of Wellington and Louis XVIII., a different view was entertained, and the restoration was stained with the blood of Ney. We admit that his crime was great; but, writes Mr. Senior, "it was not premeditated: only a few hours elapsed between his active fidelity and his treason. It was the effect of the pressure of circumstances of extraordinary difficulty and perplexity, on a mind unaccustomed to balance conflicting motives. If Ney had been a man of higher education, he would have felt that no motive justifies a failure in honour. But he had been trained in revolutionary camps: the only fidelity to which he had been accustomed, was fidelity to France, and fidelity to the emperor. He was now required to become an emigrant from one, and an opponent to the other. He was required to do this, though he believed the cause of the Bourbons to be irretrievably lost. No one can doubt what his conduct ought to have been; no one can wonder at what it actually was. It must be added, that his treason was really harmless: no opposition on his part could have retarded, by a single hour, the entry of Bonaparte into Paris. If he had followed the example of Macdonald, he must have shared his fate; have seen his troops join the usurper, and then have fled across the frontier. The only consequence would have been, that Bonaparte would have had one brave man less at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. Under such circumstances, his execution, even if it had been legal, would have been impolitic. Public opinion would have sanctioned his banishment, but not his death."

The real fact is, it was illegal; and M. Berryer, his intrepid advocate, said that it was extorted from the king by the allied powers, for the purpose of degrading the French army. Ney was included in the words and in the spirit of the convention—a convention to which Louis owed his throne. Besides, as M. Berryer remarks, the king did expressly recognise the convention, by appealing to it in order to prevent Blücher from destroying the Pont de Jena.

As is usually the case with political crimes, it received its retribution. In the words of Mr. Senior, "the recollection of Ney's death was one of the principal causes of the unpopularity, with the army, which haunted the elder Bourbons; and fifteen years afterwards, when, in their utmost need, they had to rely on the army for support, that recollection precipitated their fall."

All this time the allied sovereigns were residing in the French capital, and negotiations were being carried on by their ambassadors, and by Lord Castlereagh, on the part of England, with the French government, for the purpose, as they blindly thought, of placing France in a position which would prevent her disturbing the peace of Europe again. They deemed that the events of 1815 completely annulled the agreement of 1814, and they were resolved to exact from France "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." The Austrian plenipotentiaries required that Lorraine and Alsace should be given up; Spain asked for the Basque provinces; Prussia for Mayence, Luxembourg, and the other frontier provinces. The King of the Netherlands, not satisfied with Belgium, sought for the whole of the French fortresses of the Flemish barrier. The German powers required Franche-Comté and Alsace; and Sardinia demanded Savoy.

And now that monstrous hypocrisy, the holy alliance, was formed. The preamble of this treaty, which was signed at Paris, September 16th, set forth, that

“the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, had acquired, in the midst of the events of the last three years, the intimate conviction that it is necessary to base the future policy of governments on the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God the Saviour. Therefore—1st. The three monarchies, conformable to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which ordain men to regard each other as brethren, will ever remain united in the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity;” and “will, on all occasions, and in all places, lend each other assistance, aid, and succour. 2nd. The only principle in force between either their governments or their subjects, shall be to render to each other reciprocal services; to testify, by unalterable benevolence, their mutual affection, which ought to animate them; to consider each other as members of the one Christian nation. That Christian nation, of which they and their people make part, have in reality no other sovereign than Him, to whom belongs all power, because in Him are found all the features of love, and knowledge, and absolute wisdom. 3rd. All those powers who wish solemnly to profess these same principles, shall be admitted with eagerness and affection into this new alliance.” This precious document, drawn up by the Emperor Alexander, at the instigation of Madame Krudener, who had followed him from Vienna to Paris, was signed by most of the other sovereigns of Europe; but the prince-regent of England declined to do so, on the ground that the treaty being signed by the sovereigns alone, he could not give his signature, as the English constitution forbade him to affix his name to any document which was not signed by a responsible minister. It was well England did not join this new league. By insisting on the restoration of the Bourbons, and by sanctioning the partition of Europe, without any regard to popular rights, she had enough to answer for.

Even as regards France the settlement was very hard. Talleyrand, who quitted office in September, had consented to the return of France to the limits of 1790; the occupation of the French territory by an army of 150,000 men for seven years; and the payment of an indemnity of 800,000,000 of francs. The Duke de Richelieu, Talleyrand's successor, hesitated to accede to these conditions; and by means of his influence with the Emperor Alexander, some slight modifications were obtained. The diplomatists went very slowly to work, and the treaty was not signed at Paris till the 22nd of November. To secure the payments all the frontier fortresses were placed in the hands of the allies, and garrisoned by 150,000 troops; Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, contributing 30,000 men each; and the smaller German states 30,000 collectively. The term of occupation was to be limited to three years, if the necessary arrangements could be completed in that time; and was not to exceed five years. The command of this force was given, cordially and unanimously, to the Duke of Wellington, whom the King of Holland created Prince of Waterloo, with the intent “to perpetuate, by that title, the recollection of his country delivered, and Europe saved.” To that sovereign, the English government, with its usual disregard of mercenary considerations, gave up all its share of the indemnity, amounting to nearly £5,000,000, that he might restore the barrier of fortresses against France, which his predecessor had destroyed.

On the same day, at Vienna, to which city the congress had returned, the plenipotentiaries of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, signed a treaty, agreeing to confirm and maintain the perpetual exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from supreme power in France. The congress, before it separated, confirmed the arrangements made previous to the return of Bonaparte from Elba; and settled the territorial division of the rest of Europe, with a view to maintain the balance of power, and oppose a barrier to any future encroachments on the part of France. Many details of the treaty were opposed by England—the only power which did not seek an enlargement of territory.

The high contracting parties were evidently pleased with their handiwork; as, indeed, they had every reason to be. They had taken care of themselves; and



had made France pay a heavy price for the restoration of the Bourbons. Even the holy alliance found its advocates in the British government. When Henry Brougham, then rising into fame in the House of Commons, on making a motion relating to it, observed, that there was something so singular in the language of the treaty as to warrant no little jealousy, and went on to remark, he could not think that it referred to objects purely spiritual; that the partition of Poland had been prefaced by language very similar; and that the proclamation of the Empress Catherine, which wound up that fatal tragedy, had been couched in almost the same words—Lord Castlereagh, instead of expressing his abhorrence, vindicated the motives of the Emperor of Russia, and stated that the prince-regent, whose accession to this alliance had been solicited, had expressed his satisfaction at its tendency.

In all other quarters there was discontent, which, in time, was to find utterance. The arrangement was, indeed, the completest restoration of despotism conceivable, as Mr. Wilkes and Miss Martineau both remark, and the most monstrous wrong ever perpetrated by a conspiracy of rulers on their subjects. There was not a popular interest consulted—not a promise redeemed—not a race liberated in this famous settlement. The people, who had everywhere risen up when they found Napoleon's promises of freedom naught, were never mentioned; but coolly handed over from one to another, as if they had been so many sheep or cattle. At once their condition degenerated. In Italy, Romilly tells us, "assassinations had almost ceased under the French government; but since the restoration of the ancient order of things, accompanied with the facilities for refuge, which small neighbouring states and the asylums of the church afford, they have become as frequent as ever." At Pescia, where Sismondi lived, the assassinations which almost ceased on French rule, had, since that rule was destroyed, been, on an average, one a week. Romilly went on to Genoa, and was delighted with "that magnificent city, filled as it is with the monuments of its ancient prosperity:" but he tells us, that "he could not behold the fine race of inhabitants that crowded its streets, without feeling the most lively indignation against the base and unprincipled policy of England, and the other great powers of Europe, who have lately taken on themselves to deliver this whole state, with all its territory, into the hands of a narrow-minded and bigoted prince—a stranger to them; disliked and despised by them; and who never had any pretensions to aspire to dominion over them."

Meanwhile the work of order, as it was called, went on bravely. In Spain, Ferdinand was so impetuous, suppressing the Cortes and imprisoning its members, that Wellington interfered to secure a modified constitution, though not to prevent the re-establishment of the Inquisition. Ferdinand of Naples was more eager to please the restored pope than his people. One of the articles of the German confederation expressly declared—"Each of the confederated states will grant a constitution to the people." Another placed all Christian sects on an equality; and a third guaranteed the freedom of the press. But these solemn engagements were violated. Austria and Prussia, of course, gave no constitution, and the lesser states delayed as long as possible. The King of the Netherlands gave one to his people in 1815; but it was of such a character as at once to estrange the Belgians. William of Hesse-Cassel returned to his ancestral dominions, saying—"I have slept during the last seven years:" and, in accordance with the spirit of his avowal, insisted on replacing everything on its ancient footing, even to the wearing of hair-powder and pig-tails. Having resold the lands disposed of by King Jerome, without compensating the holders, and compelling his subjects to pay his son's debts, he offered to sell a constitution to the estates for a million of rix dollars. Everywhere a war of extermination was carried on against the popular party. The progressive statesmen who had been called to office by the convulsions of the time, were replaced by men of the old *régime*. Every newspaper of a democratic character was suppressed. The universities and the Tubungund, or

League of Virtue, a society similar to the Carbonari of Italy, of which Körner and Lutzlow were members—in which, says Richter, “lay the idea of the war; a universal enthusiasm elevated to a noble self-consciousness; the conviction that, in the nature of things now (power merely military), no cunning of the most refined description can, in the long run, triumph over native freedom of thought, and tried force of will—were mercilessly attacked.”

The Carbonari in time became very formidable. It appears that, in France, secret societies had existed since the second restoration; and when the press was gagged, the discontented, having no other means of expressing their dissatisfaction, more and more resorted to them. These societies were called the *Carbonari*, the *Bons Cousins*, and the *Chevaliers de la Liberté*. The Carbonari, an Italian importation, was the most important of them all. There was in Paris a committee, composed chiefly of members of the Chamber of Deputies, which corresponded with those of the departments, as the latter did with the committee of the arrondissements. The former was composed of nine, the latter of five members, with a president. All orders, resolutions, and plans were conveyed from one to the other verbally, nothing being committed to paper. All the members of the society were bound by a solemn oath not to betray its secrets, and to obey implicitly the central committee, from whom all orders emanated. Death was the punishment of treachery or disobedience; and the chiefs who formed the Paris committee had always assassins at their beck, ready to carry out their sentence. The plans of the society first resolved upon by the committees were made known to the members in secret midnight meetings, where oaths were administered, and other melo-dramatic solemnities resorted to. All the members of the Carbonari were obliged to provide themselves with a musket, bayonet, and twenty rounds of cartridge. If treachery was suspected, a secret court was held, and an erring or faint-hearted member received a terrible punishment. At the head of the Carbonari in Paris, were General Lafayette and his son, M. Manuel, Dupont de l'Eure, M. d'Argenson, Jacques Kochler, Count Thiard, General Taragré, General Corbénéau, M. de Lascelles, and M. Merithon, men of high position and character.

Let us return to France, where there were still difficulties connected with the settlement. In 1817, a negotiation was commenced by the French government, to obtain some reduction in the enormous claims made for indemnities by the various powers and their subjects, which went far beyond the sums allotted in the treaty. Actually, some of the small German princes sent demands for arrears of payment for services rendered as far back as the reign of Henry IV. Then there were the expenses of the army of occupation. The Duke de Richelieu appealed to Alexander. The latter suggested the appointment of commissioners, to consider the claims, with a view to their adjustment. At his suggestion, also, the Duke of Wellington was chosen by the sovereigns as their arbitrator. The duke, accordingly, went over to Paris, to preside over the commission; and the discussions commenced in January, 1818. By the 1st of April the proceedings were satisfactorily terminated; and for about 300,000,000 francs, France got rid of claims amounting to upwards of 1,300,000,000 francs—an immense reduction, for which she was entirely indebted to Russia and England.

In the same year another congress was held: this time at Aix-la-Chapelle, famous for its waters, and as the favourite residence of Charlemagne. The interests of Great Britain were represented there by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning; those of Austria, by Prince Metternich; of Prussia, by Prince Hardenberg, Baron Bernstorff, and Humboldt; and of Russia, by Nesselrode. The Duke de Richelieu appeared for France. Messrs. Hope and Baring attended, as representing the capitalists of Europe. Very gay was the old city, with kings, princes, dukes, and ladies—some of them very wily diplomatists, such as the Princess Lieven; others, brilliant *artistes*, such as Catalini. Business and pleasure were concluded on the 1st of October, when a treaty was signed, the principal condition of which was, that the troops should evacuate all the



fortresses they occupied in the territory of France on or before the 30th of November. The signing of this treaty was followed, after a conference between the Emperor Alexander and Richelieu, by the admission of France into the European confederacy.

And thus the settlement went slowly on, France drifting more and more into a reactionary policy, which, in time, was again to drive the Bourbons from its throne; Germany and Italy becoming more and more unsettled, and the differences between the peoples and their rulers growing greater. In 1817, the German students held gatherings, to commemorate the third centenary of the Reformation, and hoisted, for the first time, the German tricolour. At Aix-la-Chapelle these proceedings had been formally complained of by the czar's minister. The German dramatist, Kötzebue, inspired by Russia, in a weekly paper then published at Mannheim, ridiculed and denounced the patriotic spirit of the ardent youth of Vaterland. For this ridicule he paid the forfeit of his life. He was assassinated by a German student named Sand, who thus madly endeavoured to rid his country of a foe. In Spain, Italy, Piedmont, and Naples, the people, in secret, were conspiring to attain unto a freedom which had been often promised, but hitherto denied. Nor was this tumult on the continent without its effect at home. Radicalism was organising by means of its secret societies; and a conspiracy had been formed in London (the wretched Cato Street conspiracy) for the assassination of ministers.

But the European settlement required another congress, which was accordingly held. The emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, attended by their ministers, met at Troppau, on the 10th of October, for the purpose of concerting measures to suppress the spirit of revolution which was so prevalent at that time, especially at Naples, where the people had an imbecile forced on them in place of a real king. Metternich, the insolent, lively, and audacious, was the real cause of this congress assembling. His object was to induce the sovereigns to adopt the principle of intervention, for the purpose of maintaining, in their integrity, the states of Europe as they were regulated and apportioned by the treaties of 1815. It was not without difficulty that the Emperor of Russia was induced to coincide with the views of Metternich; but before the congress separated, a protocol was drawn up and signed by the three sovereigns, which bound them to interfere, by force if necessary, for the maintenance of the then existing states, and the suppression of revolution. An invitation was sent to England and France to join the alliance. The congress was adjourned to Laybach, and the King of Naples was invited to attend. The two emperors arrived there in January, 1821. The King of Prussia was represented by Hardenberg, Bernstorff, and Krusemark; Lord Stewart was present for England; and France had three representatives. The small Italian states were also represented. There were five questions discussed. 1. The general principle of intervention. 2. Its application to the revolution at Naples. 3. The propriety of forming an Italian confederation. 4. The best means to put down revolution in Piedmont. 5. The means to be taken with respect to the insurrection then existing in Greece. At this congress, Austria, Prussia, and Russia adhered to the protocol of Troppau, England not disputing the right of the other powers to act upon the principle laid down in that document, and, with respect to Naples, disapproving the manner in which the revolution was accomplished, yet declining to interfere. Louis XVIII. gave a conditional assent, intimating that the union of power and liberty was necessary to secure prosperity. Allied armies, in consequence of this new doctrine of intervention, were immediately sent to repress the revolutions in Naples and Piedmont.

Not yet, however, was the European settlement effected. How could it be, since it proceeded on an erroneous idea altogether? As well might you seek to plant or build on the Goodwin sands. The foundation was always giving way; the light of liberty was always shining in some corner or another. Dr. Arnold writes—"There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and so convulsive to society, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is, by the

very law of its creation, in eternal progress; and the cause of all the evils of the world may be traced to that natural but most deadly error of human indolence and human corruption—that our business is to preserve, and not to improve.” This was the deadly error into which the Castlereaghs, Metternichs, and Nesselrodes of that day fell. Again, they found that the world was giving way, and they held another congress: this time at Verona. A gay and gallant assembly met there. The Duke of Wellington and the usual diplomatists assembled; royalty was represented by the emperors of Russia and Austria, and by the kings of Sardinia, Naples, and Prussia: ladies, high-born and beautiful, were there, in considerable numbers. Maria Louisa, as Duchess of Lucca and Parma, holding royal rank, was there. The theatre and opera-house were open; and pleasure thrived as well and as fast as business.

The congress, which met August 25th, 1822, had much to do. Greece was in a state of insurrection; and the relations between Prussia and the Porte were not in a satisfactory state. England was anxious to get the slave-trade condemned; and France had made up her mind to send an expedition to restore order to Spain. All the allies agreed except England, which, at length, found it desirable to separate itself from the holy alliance. Mr. Canning, who had succeeded Lord Londonderry as Foreign Secretary, wrote to the Duke of Wellington, instructing him to declare, “frankly and decidedly,” if it were proposed “to interfere by force or menace in the present struggle with Spain,” that “to any such interference his majesty refused to be a party.” Writing in the name of his government, the Duke of Wellington wished the other plenipotentiaries to consider, “whether the measures proposed were calculated to allay any irritation which might exist in Spain against France, and to prevent a possible rupture; and whether they might not, with advantage, be delayed till a later period. It was the opinion of his Britannic majesty, that to animadvert upon the internal transactions of an independent state, unless such transactions affected the essential interests of his subjects, was inconsistent with those principles upon which his majesty had invariably acted. Such animadversions must involve his majesty in serious responsibility, if they should produce any effect, and must irritate if they should not. If addressed, as proposed, to the Spanish government, they were likely to be injurious to the best interests of Spain, or to produce the worst possible consequences upon the probable discussion between that country and France. The king’s government, therefore, declined to advise his majesty to hold a common language with the allies on that occasion.” This protest was in vain; the French Bourbon had made up his mind to help the Spanish one; and while France gloried in the success of her arms, Spain had every reason to mourn the day when Ferdinand was restored to his throne and power.—And thus ends the European settlement. English statesmen were compelled to pursue and support a different policy from that acceptable to the serf-lords of Russia. In England, at any rate, man had free speech. In all Europe there was an effort after it; and now, in our time, that great European settlement, effected at such an enormous expenditure of life and money, and for which so many congresses had been held, has altogether vanished.

“ So perish the old gods!  
But out of the sea of Time  
Rises a new land of song,  
Fairer than the old.  
Over its meadows green,  
Walk the young birds, and sing.”



## CHAPTER XII.

## THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT.

UNDOUBTEDLY the close of the war was a period of general joy. We had been engaged in a tremendous struggle: we had continued that struggle—not depressed by disaster, not rendered over-confident by success—till our end had been obtained, and our great foe, who had domineered all over Europe, was an exile on a lone rock in the Atlantic: and we had suffered very little all the while. The ministry, whose successes had rather affected their heads, were in a state of mind almost bordering on insolence. Palmerston thus satirised the perplexities of the opposition on “the choice of a leader:”—

“The recess nearly spent, and approaching the hour  
That renews the vain struggle for places and power,  
The Whigs, duly summoned, are met to prepare  
Their annual bill of political fare.  
Their brows, like the season, are cloudy and dark;  
Of hope scarce a ray, and of joy not a spark  
Illume any visage—save Whitbread’s alone,  
Who grins as he fancies the game all his own,  
Expects the whole sway of the faction to bear,  
And sees his own strength in his party’s despair.  
And now to the meeting each member began  
To open his separate project and plan;  
And each in each varied event of the times  
Beholds a new mark of the Ministry’s crimes—  
Bad faith with Murat—and the low price of Corn,  
The American Lakes—and the Duchy of Thorn;  
The Legion of Honour—the Trading in Blacks,  
Baron Impert’s arrest—and the Property-Tax;  
Colonel Quentin’s court-martial—and Spain’s discontent,  
The Catholic claims—and the Treaty of Ghent.”

If it had not been for the opposition in England, we should have had a holy alliance. As an illustration, let us take the case of Lord Dundonald, M.P. for Westminster, and the idol of the people, as well as one of the most daring of England’s naval heroes. He had rendered himself very obnoxious to government; and when tried before Lord Ellenborough (who, it must be remembered, much even to the dislike of Wilberforce, had a seat in the cabinet), he was found guilty of conspiracy to raise a false report on the Stock Exchange, with a view to his own benefit. We know now that the charge was false; but so heated was the ministerial mind against him at that time, that his lordship was expelled the House of Commons, and cashiered by order of his majesty. On the 17th of March, 1815, a motion, which had reference to Dundonald’s case, was brought forward in the House of Commons, to the effect, that “there should be no dismissal from military or naval offices by the crown, otherwise than by court-martial.” Lord Palmerston took part in the debate, and opposed the motion, on these, among other grounds:—“Was the commission granted by his majesty to be considered such a freehold property as to warrant its being deemed an injury to an individual to take it away from him when he had become unworthy of bearing it? There were many causes which might justify his majesty in withdrawing his confidence from an officer, which could not be brought before a court-martial. Disaffection, incapacity, or disgraceful conduct, were amongst these. The clause itself was not a new one. It had already been discussed and rejected in the House of Commons without a

division, and in that of the Lords by a large majority. The circumstances in which it had been thus lost, were, however, much more in favour of its adoption than the present. It was in 1734, when Sir Robert Walpole had recommended the king to dismiss Lord Cobham and the Duke of Bolton from the command of their regiments, which might be supposed to have been done in consequence of political differences. This prerogative in the hands of the crown was necessary to the discipline of the army, and even the liberty of the subject."

Another attack was made on the government with reference to the army estimates for 1816; the opposition consisting of Lord John Russell, Mr. Frankland Lewis (father of the late Sir Cornwall Lewis), and Henry Brougham, whose voice was then beginning to be heard. Conscious of his obedient majorities, Lord Palmerston, in his reply, did not attempt to meet the constitutional argument advanced against a large standing army. Very wisely he abstained from all declamation, and confined himself to the business in hand. "Exclusive," said his lordship, "of the troops in India, and the army in the occupation of France, the total number of the men proposed in the votes was 99,000. These might be divided under four heads: those stationed in Great Britain; those in Ireland; those in our old colonies—that is, the colonies we had possessed previously to the war—and those in our new colonies, or those which we acquired in the progress of the war. It was proposed to have 25,000 in Britain, the same number in Ireland, 23,800 in our old colonies, and 22,200 in the new. Add to these 3,000 as a reserve fund for reliefs to the colonial garrisons, and the aggregate was made up. He would not say much about the numbers proposed for Ireland. His right honourable friend, the Secretary for Ireland, would be quite able to meet that point. But he merely remarked, in passing, upon the absolute necessity, having regard to the reciprocal interests of the two countries, now for nine years fully united, of providing adequate protection for persons and property there.

"With respect to the old colonies, the estimates provided only 7,000 men more than had garrisoned them previously to the outbreak of the war. There was a larger force at Gibraltar, but that was rendered necessary by the great extension of the works and fortifications. In the whole of our North American possessions, the Bahamas included, there were only 4,000 more men than there had been in 1791. There were many causes for this increase. The increasing population required larger means of defence—certainly not to be used *against* the inhabitants. Upper Canada had been almost entirely peopled and settled since the war commenced. He did not insinuate any suspicions of broils with the United States. He hoped that both countries had equally made the discovery that peace was the preferable policy. Still, as a matter of political prudence, we must always provide for possible contingencies. *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, &c. He was firmly convinced that, amongst nations, weakness would never be a foundation for security. The navigation between the two countries was suspended during the winter; and, in the case of a rupture, many months might elapse ere reinforcements could be sent. In Jamaica, the force had been increased from 2,000 to 4,000. The same arguments justified this augmentation as those used in the case of America. At Antigua there had been established a considerable naval arsenal, which involved the presence of an additional military force.

"As to the force required for the occupation of the new colonies, or those acquired during the war, the criterion adopted by his majesty's government was the number of troops of the enemy found in them when they capitulated." Here he was greeted with loud ironical cheers, their gist being, that we did not require so many men to garrison these colonies in peaceful times, as the French and the Dutch did when they tried to hold them against our assaults. Palmerston at once apprehended the significance of the opposition cheers; and retorted, that "his majesty's government, although adopting this criterion, by no means meant to follow it rigidly, and place as many men there as the enemy had had.

"The captured colonies were Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape, the African settle-



ments, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. In all, the enemy's garrisons there had capitulated to the number of 30,000. This was after all their losses by deaths in action and from sickness. The government only proposed 22,000 men for these colonies, not two-thirds of the garrisons the enemy had kept up." He expatiated on the great military value of our acquisition, the island of Malta. "The Ionian Isles and the Mauritius were experiments, until we discovered how far the natives were reconciled to our rule, and, accordingly, what number of troops we should require to keep there.

"The 25,000 men for the home station, exceeded, by 7,000, the numbers of 1791. But the large increase in our colonial possessions rendered it necessary to keep up a considerably increased reserve at home. It was quite possible, though he hoped quite improbable, that the army of occupation in France might be again called into action. If there were not such a possibility, there would be no need of keeping them in France at all."

The noble lord thus concluded:—"The plain question for the House to consider was, whether they would reduce all the military establishments of the country below their just level; and whether, if they did so, the saving would have any comparison to the injury that might be done? For, after all, even if the plans of retrenchment so loudly called for were adopted, the diminution of expenditure would not be half so great as the country and the House seemed to imagine. Would it, therefore, be a wise or expedient course, under these circumstances, to abdicate the high rank we now maintained in Europe, to take our station amongst secondary powers, and confine ourselves entirely to our own island? He would again repeat, that the question was not whether they should carry into effect such diminution of the military establishment of the country as would save the people from the income-tax (for, he contended, that no possible reduction in those establishments could accomplish that end), but whether they should compel the crown to abandon all our colonial possessions, the fertile sources of our commercial wealth; and whether we should descend from that high and elevated station which it had cost us so much labour, so much blood, and so much treasure to attain."

Facts might well lead the ministry and their supporters astray, and might excuse the dreams, then idly cherished, of increased opulence and power on the return of peace. "The revenue raised within the year by taxation," Alison tells us, "had risen from £19,000,000 in 1792, to £72,000,000 in 1815. The total expenditure, from taxes and loans, had reached, in 1814 and 1815, the enormous sums of £117,000,000 each year. In the latter years of the war, Great Britain had above 1,000,000 of men in arms in Europe and Asia; and besides paying the whole of these immense armaments, was enabled to lend £11,000,000 to the continent. Nor had the credit of the country been exhausted. The loan of 1814, although of the enormous amount of £35,000,000, was obtained at the rate of £4 11s. 1d. per cent., being a lower rate of interest than had been paid at the commencement of the war. The exports, which, in 1792, were £27,000,000, had swelled up, in 1815, to nearly £58,000,000, official value. The imports had advanced, during the same period, from £19,000,000 to £32,000,000. The shipping had advanced from 1,000,000 to 2,500,000 tons. The population of England had risen from 9,400,000 in 1792, to 13,400,000 in 1815. That of Great Britain and Ireland, from 11,000,000 in the former period, to 18,000,000 in the latter. The imports of grain had been sinking, till, in 1815, it was less than 500,000 quarters." The prosperity of the period is made still more clear, and placed before us in a still stronger light, when we remember "that £6,000,000 annually was raised by the voluntary efforts of the inhabitants to mitigate the distress, and assuage the sufferings of the poor." All classes were enthusiastic. If such had been the growth of the country in a state of war, what an amount of prosperity would bless the land on the return of peace!

Alas! Hope told a fairy tale. The reality was the reverse of all that had been expected. The war over, there was a collapse, which affected every class in

the country, and sent traders into the *Gazette*. Farming produce of every kind fell in value. The iron-trade was in a state of ruin; and, at Merthyr Tydvil, the military had to be called out to keep the peace. The markets of the world were glutted with English manufactures and colonial produce; and London, Hull, and Leith suffered dreadfully by extensive and disastrous shipments to the north of Europe.

To make things worse, in 1816 the harvest was a bad one. So stormy and melancholy a season had not been experienced since 1799. On the 8th of October, the Earl of Darlington wrote to Lord Sidmouth (then Home Secretary)—“The distress in Yorkshire is unprecedented. There is a total stagnation of the little trade we ever had. Wheat is already more than a guinea a bushel; and no old corn in store. The potato crop has failed. The harvest is only beginning; the corn being in many parts still green; and I fear a total defalcation of all grain this season, from the deluge of rain which has fallen for several weeks, and is still falling.” In a letter to the same official, Lord Chancellor Eldon writes—“If we think we are to go on smoothly without the effectual means of repressing mischief, and large means too, we shall be most grievously mistaken. I look to the winter with fear and trembling. In this island our wheat is good for nothing. As a farmer, I am ruined here, and in Durham. So much for peace and plenty!” “Let us,” exclaimed Lord Nugent, in the House of Commons, in April, 1816—“let us see the state of our country; let us go forth among our fields and manufactories; and let us see what are the tokens and indications of peace. Can we trace them among a peasantry without work, and consequently without bread; among farmers unable to pay their rents, and, *à fortiori*, unable to contribute to that parochial relief on which the peasantry is rendered dependent; among landowners unable to collect their rents, and yet obliged to retain their rank and station as gentlemen in society. Let us listen to the cry of the country. It is poverty, from the proudest castle to the meanest cottage: poverty rings in our ears—it lies in our path which ever way we turn. It is not the congratulations of the noble lord opposite, it is not the song of victory, that can drown this lamentable cry. It is not in the power of the noble lord, it is not in the power of this house of parliament, to stifle the cry of want, nor to brave the stroke of universal bankruptcy.”

Ministers had to give way to the cry for retrenchment. The income and malt taxes, amounting to £17,000,000 a year, were abolished. The expenditure was reduced from £102,000,000 to £82,000,000: nearly 300,000 men were disbanded in the army and navy; and still the distress went on.

Mr. Buxton bears his testimony: and as he was not in parliament then, and at all times was a practical philanthropist rather than a party politician, it is unimpeachable as to the extent and severity of the distress then over-spreading the land. His son tells us—“The autumn of 1816 was one of great suffering; and in Spitalfields the silk-trade was almost stagnant, and the weavers, always trembling on the brink of starvation, were plunged into the deepest misery.” Under these circumstances, it was determined to hold a meeting at the Mansion-house, at which Mr. Buxton was present. We give a brief extract from his speech. After mentioning the causes which had produced an expanse of distress utterly beyond his powers to describe, he continues—“I could detain you till midnight with the scenes we have witnessed. From these rough minutes which I hold in my hand, taken on the spot, in the very houses of the poor—drawn, not from the fictions of a warm imagination, but from scenes of actual life—from the sad realities before us, I could disclose to you a faithful, though a faint picture of such desperate calamity, and unutterable ruin, that the heart must be strong, indeed, that did not sicken at the sight. First, I would lead you to the roof of a house, hardly deserving of the name: there sat three human beings, each seventy years of age, each with the ghastly lineaments of famine. A few bricks were their only chair and their only table; a little of our soup their only provision; a little straw,



and some shreds of an old coat, their only bed. Next, I would show you a family of nine; the father disabled, the mother sickly; their furniture, their bed, their looms, every article of present use, the very implements of future labour, had been surrendered to the claims of hunger. \* \* \* \* Come when you please; select almost your own street—almost your own house in that street—your own room. In that street you will find a proof that our picture is faint and feeble. Come amongst us, and we will show you the father of a large family, whom we found in the act of pulling down his stove, to exchange it for bread. The dread of future cold was less violent than the cravings of immediate hunger. Come by day, and we will lead you to a widow in the last stage of illness; yet the only blanket of the dying wretch has been sent to procure bread. Come by night, and we will show you the baskets and the sheds of our markets filled with these wretched creatures; there they find their nightly lodgings; and there, amongst its scraps and refuse, they pick out their daily food.” This speech attracted great attention. It was republished by the Spitalfields Benevolent Society, as the best means of creating sympathy with their exertions: it was republished by Hone and the democrats, as the best statement of the miseries permitted under the existing government; and it was republished by the friends of the government, because, said they, “it forms so beautiful a contrast to the language of those wretched demagogues, whose infamous doctrines would increase the evils they deplore.”

It was not alone retrenchment that was wanted. The currency question had tended most materially to create our national disasters. Government proposed that the Bank should lend the Treasury £6,000,000; and, in return, receive a prolongation of the suspension of cash payments for two years subsequent to July, 1816, as the sudden contraction of the currency had created mischief all over the land. Mr. Horner, who had thought and written more profoundly on the currency than any one else, observed, that “the extensive issue of paper during the war, was the cause of the rapid and extraordinary enhancement of prices which then took place in every article; and that the still more rapid and disastrous fall of prices which had taken place since the peace, was the result of the great contraction of the currency, especially of country bankers, which had ensued from the prospect of immediately resuming cash payments, in terms of the existing law, on the termination of hostilities; and that by far the greatest evil which impended over the country, was the necessity of paying off, in a contracted, and therefore dear, currency during peace, the debts, public and private, which had been contracted during the lavish issue of a plentiful, and therefore cheap, currency during the war.”

Mr. Horner was born in 1778; was called to the English bar, and entered the House of Commons, in 1806. The son of a respectable linendraper in Edinburgh, he made way by his talents and virtues alone. His first seat was for a Treasury borough (St. Ives), for which, by the influence of Lord Kinnaird, and the Whig government then in power, he was elected in June, 1806. “He was,” says Sir Archibald Alison, “the most intellectual and profound of that remarkable set of men who were educated, and lived together at that period, in Edinburgh. Less eloquent and discussive than Brougham, less ærial and elegant than Jeffrey, he was a much deeper thinker than either; and brought, more systematically, the powers of a clear understanding and logical reasoning to bear upon a limited number of subjects to which he directed his attention. These he mastered with consummate ability. He was the main author of the bullion report of 1810, and he bequeathed the adoption of its principles to the nation by the bill of 1819, restoring cash payments.” As a Whig he was an extreme party man. He seriously complained to Mr. Jefferson, then its editor, that the *Edinburgh Review* was too independent, and not sufficiently Whiggish—a charge which certainly has never before, or since, been brought against that celebrated journal. “It is,” adds Sir Archibald Alison, “sufficient to observe, as a curious proof of the warping even of the strongest intellects by the chain of party, that while he clearly saw, and as ably illustrated the obvious truths, that the great rise of prices during the war.

was owing to the copious issue of the paper currency, and that the greatest danger to be apprehended, on the return of peace, was the impossibility of discharging the debts, public and private, contracted during a plentiful circulating medium, he could discern no other mode of averting these dangers but by rushing immediately into the contracted currency; and that while he was well aware, that variations in the amount of the circulating medium, are the greatest calamity which can befall a mercantile nation, the only way in which he deemed it practicable to avert them, was to base it entirely on gold—the most eagerly desired, easily transported, and therefore most evanescent of earthly things.”

Francis Horner was a man universally esteemed and beloved. He was the friend of all the great and good men of that period. When he died, the sense of his loss was expressed in parliament by Lord Morpeth, Mr. Canning, Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, and Sir Samuel Romilly. The latter said—“I noticed particularly his independence of mind, and observed, that while he was taking a most conspicuous part in our debates, and was commanding the admiration of the House, he never relaxed in the most laborious application to his profession (though without any success in it at all proportioned to his merits), because he thought it essential to maintaining his independence, that he should look to his profession alone for the honours and emoluments to which his talents gave him so just a claim. I spoke, too, of his eloquence, as being not merely calculated to excite admiration and applause, but as ennobled and sanctified by the great and virtuous ends to which it was uniformly directed—the protection of the oppressed, the enfranchisement of the enslaved, the advancing the best interests of the country, and enlarging the sphere of human happiness.” Considering his knowledge, his talents, his excellent judgment, his patriotic intentions, and the prospect of years which he had before him, his death was a public calamity; and in the troublous times that succeeded, more than once Sir Samuel Romilly mourned the absence of such an ally. Most of the speeches delivered on the occasion of Horner’s death, were published by Lord Holland in a pamphlet, which was translated into Italian. In Westminster, a monument, erected by subscription, records Horner’s memory.

An equal authority in financial questions was Lord King. His lordship was born in 1775; succeeded to his title in 1793; took his seat in the House of Lords in 1797, and appears to have spoken for the first time in 1800. From that period, until his death, he took an active part in politics; but his chief merit rests in the services he performed in connection with the currency question. What he did we will endeavour to explain as briefly as possible. The coining of money, in all ages of the world, has been usually a government monopoly. We can quite understand this. What we cannot understand is, how governments, so strict about coin, should have been so remiss about the issue of paper-money. It is as difficult, often, to ascertain the value of a note as that of a sovereign. In England, especially, was the issue of paper-money unlimited. Not only were the issuers of notes relieved from individual responsibility by the creation of chartered banks, but at the time when Lord King entered upon public life, the two principal of these institutions, the Bank of England and the Bank of Ireland, had each been forbidden to perform its promise to pay its notes in metallic money, or, as it is called, cash.

Mr. Senior is inclined to believe (and we agree with him), that, “as far as the Bank of England was concerned, the evil was not the restriction so much as its continuance.” It enabled the bank directors to change, at their pleasure, the standard of the country, and made it their interest to do so.

The demands of commerce for loans and discounts, at a rate below the usual rate, are insatiable. When the rate of interest is 5 per cent., the man who can borrow at 4 makes a profit proportionate to the sum which he borrows. With a metallic money, or with a paper-money payable in metallic money, such transactions do not add to the amount of the currency, though they may enable it to circulate more rapidly; but an unconvertible paper currency may thus be



increased without limit. According to Mr. Senior, "the Bank of England is a solitary instance of any approach to moderation in the exercise of such power." The French government gave such a power to Law's bank in February, 1720. By the beginning of May that bank had issued notes of the nominal value of about £1,200,000,000 sterling; and 100 livres in paper were worth about one in silver. The French government itself assumed such a power in 1790. In 1776, they had issued 45,579,000,000 francs; and 100 francs, nominally £4, were worth about five sous, or less than 3d. sterling. The paper-money of the Danish government exchanged, in 1813, at the rate of one dollar in silver for 1,600 in paper. In Austria, in 1810, a silver florin was worth thirteen in government paper.

The merchants of London urged the Bank of England to pursue a similar course.

Lord King's first speech on the Restriction Act, appears to have been made on the 22nd of February, 1803. His *Thoughts on the Effects of the Bank Restrictions*, are dated the 28th of May, 1803. In that pamphlet, there was so just an appreciation of the dangers of the path on which we were treading—it contains so full, and, in the main, true an exposition of the theory of paper-money, that, after more than forty years of discussion, Mr. Senior tells us there is little to add to it, or correct. Lord King admits the advantage of a convertible paper currency: he then lays it down, that it can only be kept at a value equal to that of the coin which it represents, by being immediately convertible into specie at the option of the holder; and he denies that an augmented trade requires an augmented currency. Superior wealth and trade are causes which operate, in themselves, to increase the demand for currency; but they may be more than counterbalanced by other circumstances. Commercial nations have, in this respect, a great advantage over others, by the more skilful and judicious management of their currency.

The merits of Lord King's work are, that he early perceived the tendency of the Bank Restriction Act; that he saw the inadequacy of the limits which the bank directors assigned to their issues; that he urged, with a force and clearness which have not been surpassed, the necessity of returning to cash payments; that he based his practical recommendations on theories generally sound, and frequently original; and that he did this at the age of twenty-eight.

Mr. Tooke considers that we were preserved from more mischief at this period, by the fact that the bank directors adhered to the routine of their establishment; and that routine accidently preserved them from the evils which ought to have accrued by their neglect of the foreign exchanges, and of the price of bullion.

The time came when Lord King was found to be a true prophet. Bad harvests in 1809 and 1810—the vast foreign expenditure of government—the exclusion of British manufactures from the continent—the opening of the South American markets, and the mistakes of our merchants as to the extent and character of the trade to be done with them, produced an unparalleled commercial crisis.

On the 20th of June, 1810, the day before the prorogation, the bullion committee delivered their well-known report, affirming the existence of an extensive paper circulation; attributing that excess to the restriction; and recommending a return to cash payments in two years. On the 6th of May, 1811, Mr. Horner moved resolutions embodying the conclusions of the report. They were rejected by majorities of two to one. In the actual state of affairs this was not to be wondered at; but it is strange and wonderful that Mr. Vansittart's rival proposition, "that the promissory notes of the Bank of England have hitherto been, and are at this moment, held to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm," should have been adopted.

Lord King resolved to test the question. He sent circulars to his tenants holding leases before the beginning of the depreciation, or when it was less than at the date of the notice, requiring payment of their rent either in guineas, or in Portugal gold coin of equal weight; or in Bank of England notes, sufficient

to purchase the weight of gold requisite to discharge the rent. Had not government interfered, this step would have been most advantageous to the permanent prosperity of the country. "It is probable," says Mr. Senior, "that the government, in its subsequent loans, would have been obliged to pay and borrow in gold. The foreign exchanges would have been quoted in gold, and could not have risen or fallen beyond the expense of transmission. We should have saved, in our imports, and in our foreign expenditure, the additional price which the foreign producer and merchant were forced to put on their commodities, in order to indemnify themselves against the contingency of a fall in the value of the unsubstantial paper pound in which our contracts were actually made: and, above all, we should have escaped all that part (which was nominal) of the enormous rise of agricultural produce, of rents and incumbrances on landed property, that were the pretext for the corn-laws, which oppressed us for forty years."

Help came to the aid of the ignorant in another quarter. On the 27th of June, 1811, Lord Stanhope laid on the table of the House of Lords a bill, making it illegal to receive or to pay gold or bank notes at more or less than their nominal value. At first it was opposed by government. In everything, Lord Stanhope, a very able man, went to extremes; and even when he was in the right, advocated it in such a way as to impede its triumph. Wilberforce, on the reading of the Abolition Bill in the House of Lords, says—"Lord Stanhope's a wild speech. With pain I heard that he was about to divide the House. His speech contained some mischievous passages, threatening the lords that, by means of his stereotype press, he would circulate millions of papers amongst the people, and deluge the country with accounts of the cruelties of the slave-trade, and of the barbarous treatment of the slaves in the West Indies." On the currency question, Earl Stanhope went to an extreme; and, unfortunately for the country, ministers went with him. Sir Samuel Romilly says—"Ministers supported this foolish and mischievous bill, on account of Lord King's conduct being defended by Lord Grenville and Lord Lauderdale; and they have prolonged the session for the mere purpose of carrying it through." On the second reading of the bill in the Lords, the ministers had not determined what course they should take; but, after consultations between Perceval, Lord Liverpool, and others of the ministers, while the debate was going on, they resolved to support it; and, in the committee, they added a clause, to take away from every person having a right to distrain for rent or any other debt, his power of distress if the amount of his rent were tendered to him in bank notes. The minorities were very small: all the regent's personal friends made a point, by his direction, of supporting the bill in every stage of it—such as Lord Yarmouth, Tyrwhitt, and M'Mahon. Sheridan, too, attended, and spoke in support of it. The latter, as an Irishman, ought to have known better. The Restriction Act had been extended to Ireland; and the consequence was, that the exchange on England fell 10 per cent.; that a gold guinea sold for a paper guinea and 2s. 8½d. premium; all good silver nearly disappeared; and its place was supplied by a base counterfeit coinage worth about 25 per cent. of its real value. The Irish treasury refused to take this coinage from the post-office, and, consequently, the postmen refused it from the public, and detained all letters. Customers were forced to run in debt, and tradesmen to give credit, from the absence of change. Lord Stanhope triumphed, and the evil was prolonged. The speech of Lord King, in defence of his conduct, is unanswerable. His lordship said—

"It was asked, insultingly, in another place, whether any person had ever yet ventured to refuse bank paper in payment or satisfaction of a lawful debt? And, on that foundation, it was attempted to be urged that, in point of fact, there existed no difference between paper and gold, and no actual depreciation. By bringing this question to an issue, at least one of the remaining wretched supports of this fatal system will be overthrown. In this state of things, for the defence of my property, I have thought it advisable to inform my tenants holding lands under old



leases only, that I can no longer continue to receive bank notes upon their nominal value. The plain, broad principle upon which I have acted, is to require payment in a currency of the same intrinsic value which the currency possessed at the date of each respective agreement. Where, may I ask, is the hardship of such demand? In proportion as the currency is depreciated, the price of wheat, of cattle, of all the produce of the land, is augmented. The tenant suffers no loss if he is required only to make an equitable compensation: he is only prevented from acquiring an additional profit, to which he can lay no just claim. To any increase of price, in consequence of the increasing opulence and prosperity of the country, the tenant is justly entitled. The two causes of the increased price are totally distinct: the one arises from the fair increased demand and consumption of the country, which may well have entered into the calculation of the amount of rent; the other proceeds from an anomaly in the currency, which never could have entered into the contemplation of parties.

“Having acted on principles such as I have described, and being satisfied with my own conduct, I shall not be deterred by clamour, or by any imputation whatever by which it may be attempted to prevent me from insisting, with firmness and moderation, on a just and legal demand. If the notes of the Bank of England are not depreciated in value, and if, in fact, there is no difference between paper and gold, the preference given to the latter will be an idle preference, of no public inconvenience, because it will not be followed. If the value of the bank paper is really at par, it is not in the power of any individual to alter the fact; but if, on the contrary, the bank paper is greatly inferior in value to gold coin and bullion, it is highly meritorious to expose and resist a system through which the whole community is impoverished and discarded.” His lordship ended by pointing out the pernicious effect it would have on contracts and leases, if the legislature interfered in this matter. But his appeal was unheeded: he was in advance of his time—a great offence; and he belonged to the Whig party—a greater offence: Toryism was the only passport to distinction in church and state.

Under such circumstances of national distress, we can easily understand how discontent found utterance in a manner more or less violent, and more or less displeasing to authority. Orator Hunt, a vain, good-natured gentleman farmer, very nearly created a formidable riot. It appears a meeting was held in Spa Fields, December 2nd, to address the prince-regent on the prevalent discontent. The people waited for some time; but as he did not come, they proceeded with tricoloured flags and banners, headed by a man named Watson, and attacked a gunsmith's shop, whom they shot while defending the entrance. Having then supplied themselves with guns, they marched on, in military array, to the Royal Exchange, where they were met by the Lord Mayor, Alderman Shaw, and a strong body of police; but, notwithstanding all resistance, the rioters forced their way into the building, when three of the ringleaders were made prisoners. The mob, upon this, fired over the rails, which had been closed upon the magistrates, and moved off to the Minories, where they broke into two other gunsmiths' shops, and remained, for some time, in possession of that part of the town. Ultimately they were dispersed by the military and police. Two of the persons seized were condemned, and executed; but the greatest criminal, Watson, escaped to America.

On this dark scene a little light is reflected by the expedition against Algiers, and by the marriage of the Princess Charlotte.

For a series of years, the pirates on the coast of Barbary had committed great depredations on almost every civilised nation; and, at length, ventured to attack the English flag. Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta, proceeded, in consequence, to Tripoli, the government of which acceded to all that he proposed; and, at Tunis, everything was settled by negotiations. These arrangements, however, proving ineffectual, Lord Exmouth, with a portion of the Mediterranean fleet, proceeded, in the early part of the year, first to Tunis, and then to Tripoli. At both these places the deys agreed to a treaty prohibiting the making of Christian

slaves. The Dey of Algiers, however, refused to agree to any such arrangement. Lord Exmouth therefore determined to commence hostilities; on which the dey ordered the English consul to be confined, and all the British vessels at Oran to be seized. Negotiations, however, were resumed, which ended in an agreement that three months should be allowed for obtaining the sanction of the sultan. Scarcely had Lord Exmouth reached England, when intelligence arrived of a new and horrible outrage upon three or four hundred Corsican, Neapolitan, and Sicilian fishing-boats, employed in the coral fishery near Tunis. It was now deemed hopeless to trust to treaties, which, it was clear, the Algerine pirates would not observe. Accordingly, Lord Exmouth sailed from Plymouth, in the *Queen Charlotte*, of 110 guns, with four other ships of the line, five frigates, and several sloops, bombs, &c. At Gibraltar his lordship was joined by a Dutch squadron; and, in August, the expedition arrived off Algiers, where every preparation had been made for defence. Nelson had said that Algiers could not be successfully attacked by less than twenty-five ships of the line. Lord Exmouth was of a contrary opinion. Events showed that his lordship was right. The attack commenced on the 27th of August. The bombardment was terrific; and, next morning, the city and harbour exhibited a frightful amount of desolation and destruction. The Algerine ships, magazines, and arsenals were destroyed; and their loss in men was between 6,000 and 7,000. The assailants had also to lament over 800 killed and wounded. The result of this splendid engagement was, that the dey agreed totally to abolish Christian slavery; to deliver up all the slaves in his dominion, to whatever nation they might belong; to return all the money that he had received for the redemption of the slaves since the beginning of the year; and to make reparation, and a public apology to the British consul, for the wrongs and indignities to which he had been subjected.

The battle of Algiers forms a class by itself among naval victories. It was a new thing to place a fleet in a position surrounded by such formidable batteries. Bold, brilliant, and original in the conception, it was most complete in execution. Nor was it more splendid for the honour, than happy in the results. It broke the chains of thousands; gave security to millions; and delivered Christendom from a scourge and a disgrace. To complete the happiness of the achievement, a neighbouring nation co-operated—the natural ally of England, and the truest of her friends.

Lord Exmouth's services were acknowledged as became such a victory. He was raised to the dignity of viscount; and the pope, and the kings of Sardinia, Holland, and Spain, conferred upon him marks of favour.

"In general," writes his lordship's biographer, "every disposition was shown in France to do justice to Lord Exmouth's merits on this occasion: yet it was to be expected that the feelings so natural under the circumstances of their recent defeat, and the present occupation of their territory, would lead many to detract from the honours of a nation which had so severely humbled them." Some illiberal reflections, which appeared at this time in the French journals, prompted the following lines by the late Lord Grenville:—

"These hands toil-worn, these limbs by fetters galled,  
These bodies scarred by many a servile blow,  
These spirits wasted by disease and woe,  
These Christian souls by miscreant rage enthralled;  
What band of heroes now recalls to life?  
Gives us again to hail our native shores,  
And to each fond, despairing heart, restores  
The long-lost parent—the long-widowed wife!  
Oh, Britain! still to lawless power a foe,  
'Gainst faithless pirate armed, or blood-stained Gaul;  
Vain is the taunt which mocks thy lavish cost—  
Thy thankless toil—thy blood poured out for all—  
Thy laurels gained in fight, in treaty lost:  
Heaven still shall bless the hand which lays the oppressor low."



Of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte the nation formed the most sanguine expectations. On the 2nd of May, her union with Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, took place. The child of an unfortunate and ill-assorted union, she had given proofs of good feeling, and the promise of a future worthy of her station. Her mother certainly seems to have loved her; but she evidently courted her from other and more interested considerations. On the other hand, the regent, jealous of her popularity, and vexed at her dutiful conduct towards her mother, wished, as much as possible, to keep her under, and affected to treat her as a silly child.

Miss Knight, in her *Autobiography*, gives us a vivid picture of the bondage in which the Princess Charlotte was held. "Warwick House," she tells us, "was a wretched region, almost falling to pieces, and like a convent;" yet, "this was a seat of happiness compared with the Lodge at Windsor," where her royal highness was occasionally sent for country air. The Duchess of Leeds, her principal monitor, was a dull duenna, "who cared for nothing except curious gossips and mischievous people;" and the Bishop of Salisbury, the princess's preceptor, was a prelate, "with the bad style of Windsor manners," whose great aims "were to arm his pupil against popery and Whig principles." Amidst these unfavourable surroundings, the fair young hope of the English people was "kept in a state of protracted infancy;" allowed to appear at Carlton House and Windsor like "a child recently let out of the nursery;" and often snubbed and pestered by her father, who took care to impress her with a sense of her dependence. She was chid if she danced with the Duke of Devonshire; denounced for sitting next to the Duke of Gloucester; condemned, in the presence of cabinet ministers, to listen to the prince-regent's abuse of her mother; beset by spies, who had the audacity to mix up her name with foul imputations; and crossed and disappointed in many ways. Miss Knight records how the prince-regent bade her keep constantly in mind, "that Charlotte was to be subject to him, though she were thirty-five and five-and-forty;" and how, when the princess had taken refuge from his persecutions at Connaught House, he brutally exclaimed, that "he was very glad; that now everybody would see what she was; that all would be known upon the continent, and that nobody would marry her." We are not surprised to find that the princess "had a look of despair and utter wretchedness," when told that she was completely in his power. Miss Knight gives us a pleasing idea of the princess. In consequence of ill-natured gossip about her refusal of the Prince of Orange, and her flight to her mother at Connaught House, much injustice, in popular estimation, has been done the princess. Miss Knight, with evident sincerity, declares that "she would have proved a blessing to her country;" that her character "was full of talent and genius; and that she really was a noble creature." The princess had certainly much quickness of perception, a steady will, and a generous disposition; and we cannot doubt that, if well brought up, she would have become an excellent sovereign. She showed great amiability and feeling in her difficult relation with her parents; and if, beset as she was by her father, she occasionally betrayed a fiery spirit, we can only wonder that she stood so well his constant system of teasing and tyranny. The nation sympathised with her; and believing Prince Leopold (who had come over to this country in the train of the allied sovereigns) was the man of her heart, rejoiced cordially at the union.

The announcement of the intended marriage was received with the utmost satisfaction by both houses of parliament. It had been announced, on the 14th of March, in the Lords by Lord Liverpool; in the Commons by Lord Castlereagh; and, on the next day, the House of Commons fixed the provision of her royal highness at £60,000 a year; of which £10,000 was to be for her own privy purse, and £50,000 for the support of their establishment. The like sum was settled as a provision for the Prince of Coburg, in the event of his surviving his august spouse. These provisions were independent of £60,000 for the outfit of the royal pair; and were all agreed to without a dissentient voice. Soon after the marriage the situation of her royal highness gave hopes of an heir to the monarchy. London society

was glad to find that they were happy, and content with each other. Wilberforce reports her wonder and happiness at the gratitude she enjoyed in her short period of connubial bliss. And how dear she was to the nation, is revealed by Romilly, who, as far back as 1814, in his diary, says—"The Princess Charlotte, who was present as a spectator of the ceremony (the opening of parliament), was recognised by the people on her return, and greeted with loud and repeated hurras!" This reception must have been very annoying to her father, as we find "he was received with a dead and most humiliating silence; no marks of disapprobation, but no applause."

The prince and princess fixed their residence at Claremont, now an object of melancholy interest, where their simple, unostentatious life, their fervent and mutual attachment, their kindness and affability of manner, won the affections of all who approached them—as the noble example of domestic virtue and purity which they exhibited in their conduct, commanded the respect of the whole nation.

The premature death, in childbirth, of the princess, filled every household in the land with sorrow, and was bewailed alike by poets and by orators. Her sufferings, during a protracted labour of forty-eight hours, were very great. In the vain hope of saving the mother, the babe, an uncommonly fine and healthy one, was sacrificed: but, alas! the princess sank rapidly from exhaustion, and died a few hours after, overcome by despair and grief. The principal medical attendant of her royal highness committed suicide. Romilly writes, November 16th, 1817—"The death of the princess is very generally felt and acknowledged to be a great public calamity. Much was not known of her; but the little that was known was favourable to her character. Her domestic retirement, and the warm affection which seemed to unite her to the prince, her husband, had greatly endeared her to the public." Over her early tomb, even the selfish and sated prince-regent must have shed bitter tears of regret and remorse.

Byron writes from Venice—"The death of the Princess Charlotte has been a shock even here, and must have been an earthquake at home. The fate of this poor girl is melancholy in every respect; dying at twenty or so, in childbed—of a boy too: a present princess, and future queen; and just as she began to be happy, and to enjoy herself, and the hopes which she inspired. I feel sorry in every respect." He says, in *Childe Harold*—

"Scion of chiefs and monarchs, where art thou?  
Fond hope of many nations, art thou dead?  
Could not the grave forget thee, and lay low  
Some less majestic, less beloved head?  
In the sad midnight, while thy heart still bled,  
The mother of a moment, o'er thy boy,  
Death hush'd that pang for ever: with thee fled  
The present happiness and promised joy,  
Which fill'd the imperial isles so full it seem'd to cloy.

"Peasants bring forth in safety.—Can it be,  
Oh thou that wert so happy, so adored!  
Those who weep not for kings shall weep for thee,  
And Freedom's heart, grown heavy, cease to hoard  
Her many griefs for ONE; for she had pour'd  
Her orisons for thee, and o'er thy head  
Beheld her Iris.—Thou, too, lonely lord  
And desolate consort—vainly wert thou wed!  
The husband of a year! the father of the dead!"



## CHAPTER XIII.

## OUR SECOND QUARREL WITH AMERICA.

WE stop the record of events in Europe to narrate the rise and progress of our second war with America.

Since the recognition of American independence by the British government, there had been but little friendship between it and America; and the measures of the former to counteract the designs of France, were viewed by the latter with bitter indignation. America complained of insult offered to her flag by Great Britain; and the practice of admitting British seamen to the rights of American citizenship, offended us. Unfortunately, at this time an American seaman lost his life by a shot from the *Leander*, and it was proposed in Congress, at once to suspend all importation from any port in Britain; as also all intercourse between the two countries; and to prohibit the importation of the produce of the manufactures of Great Britain. When Mr. Pitt died, negotiations, with a view to a better understanding, were opened with Mr. Fox, and continued, on his death, with Mr. Canning; a new grievance—the opposition offered by us to the Berlin decrees—having now come into existence. To add still further to the complication, the *Leopard*, an English fifty-gun ship, had met the American frigate *Chesapeake*, and an engagement had taken place between them, attended with loss of life, in consequence of the American captain refusing to allow his ship to be searched for deserters. This incident added fuel to the fire; and the American president, Jefferson, and his representatives in Europe, took a loftier tone. Under Mr. Madison, Jefferson's successor, the breach between the two countries was widened. The orders in council were especially obnoxious. The position, or principle, laid down by the United States was, that "the sea, like the air we breathe, must be regarded as common to all men;" and that, consequently, no belligerent possessed any right to interfere with neutrals.

In 1812, the new ministry, under Lord Liverpool (formed on the death of Mr. Perceval, who had been shot by an assassin in the lobby of the House of Commons), was attacked with the whole strength of the opposition, on the disputes between us and America, and especially with reference to the orders in council. The discussion was initiated by Mr. Brougham, who had then been M.P. for Camelford upwards of two years. In conclusion, he said—

"Never did we stand so high, since we were a nation, in point of military character. We have it in abundance, and even to spare. This unhappy, and seemingly interminable war, lavish as it has been in treasure, still more profuse of blood, and barren of real advantage, has, at least, been equally lavish of glory. Its feats have not merely sustained the warlike fame of the nation, which would have been much; they have done what seemed barely possible—they have greatly exalted it; they have covered our arms with immortal renown. Then, I say, use this glory; use this proud height on which we now stand for the purpose of peace and conciliation with America. Let this, and its incalculable benefits, be the advantage which we reap from the war in Europe; for the fame of that war enables us safely to take it. And who, I demand, give the most disgraceful counsels? They who tell you we are, in military character, but of yesterday—we have yet a name to win—we stand on doubtful ground—we dare not do as we list, for fear of being thought afraid—we cannot, without loss of name, stoop to pacify our American kinsmen? Or I, who say we are a great, a proud, a warlike people; we have fought everywhere, and conquered wherever we fought; our character is eternally fixed; it stands too firm to be shaken; and, on the faith of it, we may do towards

America, safely for our honour, that which we know our interests require? This perpetual jealousy of America! Good God! I cannot, with temper, ask on what it rests. It drives me to a passion to think of it. Jealousy of America! I should as soon think of being jealous of the tradesmen who supply me with necessaries, or the clients who entrust their suits to my patronage. Jealousy of America! whose armies are yet at the plough, or making—since your policy has willed it so—awkward, though improving, attempts at the loom; whose assembled navies could not lay siege to an English sloop of war. Jealousy of a power which is necessarily peaceful, as well as weak; but which, if it had all the ambition of France, and all her armies to back it, and all the navy of England to boot—nay, had it the lust of conquest which marks your enemy and your own armies, as well as means to gratify it—is placed at so vast a distance as to be perfectly harmless! And this is the nation of which, for our honour's sake, we are desired to cherish a perpetual jealousy for the ruin of our best interests!"

Mr. Brougham ultimately withdrew his motion, on the promise given by Lord Castlereagh, that, so far as regarded America, the obnoxious orders should be suspended. Wilberforce says—"Government gave way, yet most awkwardly. They allege, shabbily, the French decree; and when, at a meeting at Lord Castlereagh's, we urged that the decree was a forgery, 'Aye,' said Castlereagh, 'but one does not like to own that we are forced to give way to our manufacturers.'"

On the 23rd of June the promised suspension was announced. Unfortunately, it afterwards appeared, that five days before the declaration was published in London, the American government had declared war against Great Britain. The message of the American president, intimating the approval of the determination of the Congress, asserted, that "the British cruisers had violated the honour of the American flag, and seized persons sailing under it: that the seizure even of British subjects, without trial or inquiry, was contrary to the law of nations: that, under pretence of searching for them, thousands of American citizens had been torn from their country, and compelled to fight for their oppressors: that the British cruisers had violated the rights and the peace of the American coast: that the blood of American citizens had been shed wantonly in the very harbours of the United States; and, instead of punishment, the highest rewards had been bestowed, by the British government, on the persons guilty of those atrocities: that, by means of a nominal blockade, without the presence of an adequate force, the commerce of America had been plundered on every sea; and, at length, Great Britain had resorted to a sweeping system, under the name of 'orders in council,' which had been so contrived as to suit the political views and commercial jealousies of England, and satisfy the avidity of her citizens."

On the 13th of October, the English ministry declared war with America. To their credit be it said, they delayed the declaration as long as possible, hoping that the Americans would be inclined to peace when they heard that the obnoxious orders had been rescinded. All good men in England wished for peace. "I declare," writes Wilberforce, "that I cannot look forward to the idea of victory in any war between Great Britain and America, as in a contest with our ancient enemies." And there were tens of thousands in this country who felt the same.

By land, the first efforts of the Americans were directed against Canada, which was invaded by General Hull with so little skill, that, on the 16th of August, he surrendered his entire army, consisting of 2,500 men, with thirty-three pieces of ordnance, to an inferior force of British and Indians, under General Brock; and, on the 13th of October, a second army repeating the attempt on Canada, was completely defeated, 900 prisoners being taken, and the remainder either killed or wounded. The loss of the English was very slight, with the exception of General Brock, who was killed while cheering his troops, before the engagement actually commenced.

The Americans were more successful at sea—a circumstance easily accounted



for when we remember the superiority of their frigates in size, weight of metal, and number of men. The *Guerriere*, after an engagement of three hours' duration, was captured by Captain Hull, to the great delight of the Americans, to whom the *Guerriere*, when engaged in searching for deserters, had been peculiarly disagreeable. Soon after, the *Macedonian* frigate, under Captain Carden, fell a prey to Commodore Decatur, of the *United States* frigate. In December of the same year, the *Java*, Captain Lambert, having in tow the American ship *William* (which she had captured), was met near the Brazilian coast by the *Constitution* and *Hornet*, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge and Captain Lawrence. For five hours the *Java* fought resolutely against a superior force; but in vain. Soon after the *Frolic* was encountered by the *Wasp*, and had also to succumb to the stars and stripes. Almost immediately after the British ship *Poictiers* hove in sight, and not only snatched the *Frolic* from her captor, but made a prize of the *Wasp*. The American privateers also did considerable damage; and ministers being much censured by the opposition for a want of foresight in not being prepared with a more efficient naval force to contend with the Americans, several ships of the line were ordered out; and the time arrived when the British regained a portion of their fame. Captain Broke, of the *Shannon*, had, it appears, been for some time cruising near the port of Boston, where the *Chesapeake* frigate then lay. Early on the morning of the 1st of June, 1813, Captain Broke addressed to the commanding officer of the *Chesapeake* a letter of challenge, which for candour, manly spirit, and gentlemanly style is unparalleled. The letter began—

"As the *Chesapeake* appears now ready for sea, I request you will do me the favour to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortunes of our respective flags. The *Shannon* mounts twenty-four guns upon the broadside, and one light boat-gun; eighteen-pounders upon her main deck, and thirty-two-pound carronades on her quarter and forecastle; and is manned with a complement of 300 men and boys (a large proportion of the latter), besides thirty seamen, boys, and passengers, who were taken out of recaptured vessels lately." After fixing the place of meeting, and providing against all interruption, Captain Broke concludes—"I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity by the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*, or that I depend only on your personal ambition for your acceding to this invitation. We have both nobler motives. You will feel it as a compliment if I say that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service that I can render my country; and I doubt not that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs in even combats that your little navy can now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade it can no longer protect. Favour me with a speedy reply. We are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay here long."

Lawrence, a brave man, who had previously distinguished himself, accepted the challenge. The fight took place in sight of the people of Boston. It was short, sharp, and decisive. In eleven minutes every officer on board the *Chesapeake*, capable of commanding, had fallen. Lawrence, stricken mortally, was asked if the colours should be hauled down. "No," he exclaimed, "they shall always wave while I live;" and then he cried out—"Don't give up the ship!" But Broke boarded the *Chesapeake*, and she was carried, as a prize, to Halifax, where poor Lawrence, who survived his wounds four days, was buried with every mark of honourable distinction, the oldest captain in the English navy bearing his pall.

The war continued; and many of the leading men in America were of opinion that Canada might easily be wrested from Great Britain. Mr. Henry declared he would take the whole continent from the English, and ask them no favours. For the first two years, the British were obliged to be content with the defence of their Canadian possessions, in which they were generally successful, through the ability of their leaders, the discipline of the regulars, the bravery of the Canadian militia, and the co-operation of the Indians, under one of the most remarkable chieftains that had ever been

engaged in the wars of the whites. Tecumseh was the *beau-ideal* of an Indian warrior. Grand in person, gifted with great strength and marvellous penetration, he gave himself up to the acquisition of glory. He cared nothing for wealth; victory was his passion; and his rule was neither to give nor accept quarter. He fell in an engagement not far from Detroit. The Americans did not, for a long time, avail themselves of the services of the Indian tribes, as they deprecated the policy of employing a people whose system of warfare was so utterly barbarous and cruel; but when they found that the neutrality of those people could not in any way be secured, and that there was no choice but to accept their aid, or see them swell the ranks of their foes, they adopted the former alternative.

At first, as we have said, the theatre of war was confined to the territories of the English in the west, and of the Americans on the eastern shore of Lake Ontario; and a great deal of damage appears to have been done by each of the contending parties. Mr. Thompson, an American editor, in summing up the losses and gains of the United States in the year 1813, reports the American armies as attaining a high degree of reputation, but to have acquired no advantage that could compensate for the blood and treasure which had been exhausted. In the course of the summer, he writes that the American army possessed every position between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, on both sides of the Atlantic. In the winter of the same year, after having gradually lost their possessions on the British side of that stream, they were deprived of those on their own. Whatever satisfaction the American public might derive from the triumphs, in some instances, achieved by their countrymen, the expense and evils of the war were severely felt.

In 1814, preparations were made in England to carry on the American war with more spirit. General Ross was placed in command of the reinforcements; and a strong naval force, under Admiral Cockburn, accompanied him, to lay waste and destroy such towns and districts on the American coast as might be found assailable. The Americans hastily increased their levies to meet this formidable force; but they were unable to prevent the capture of Washington, and the destruction of "the monuments of taste and literature with which the young republic had embellished her chosen seat. The Capitol, the library, the archives, were wantonly destroyed." An attempt was then made on Baltimore, where General Ross fell, mortally wounded. The English, in their turn, had now become the assailants. Sir George Prevost, at the head of a considerable body of soldiers who had gained their experience under Wellington in the Spanish Peninsular war, invaded the New York state, and met the Americans at Plattsburg. He was supported by a fleet, which had entered the harbour just as he had formed his army, consisting of 14,000 men, in two columns, for an assault upon the town. The American squadron in the harbour gave battle to the fleet, and defeated it. Prevost then retreated, leaving behind him large quantities of stores and ammunition.

Encouraged by these successes, the Americans made prodigious efforts to carry on the war. Their expenditure had been very great; their credit was low; their finances disordered; they were in debt: besides, there was a large party anxious for the restoration of peace. Nothing, however, daunted the war spirit of Congress and the president. New loans were made; new taxes raised; and every preparation was taken for prosecuting the war with increased confidence and vigour. It was at this juncture that the legislatures of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont, assembled by delegates at Hartford; and after charging the national government with pursuing measures hostile to the interests of New England, proposed certain amendments of the federal constitution. Nothing came of the Hartford convention—as it has ever since been called—as peace was proclaimed before its resolutions could be formally placed before the government.

England, in 1814, sent out a large force, under Generals Keane and Pakenham, to attack Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. Their defence devolved on General Andrew Jackson.



Andrew Jackson is one of the American heroes. He was a daring, energetic, and skilful man; and, for many years, had been engaged in Tennessee in subduing the Creek Indians, a warlike tribe, who had risen against the whites at the instance of Tecumseh. His first measure was to capture the city and port of Pensacola, which the Spanish government had permitted the English to occupy. His next step was to place New Orleans in a state of defence. The heterogeneous population of the city, which had but recently, as it were, become part of the territory of the state, was not, of course, very enthusiastic in its desire that the American cause should triumph; but Jackson, by his vigour, compelled all classes of people—Frenchmen and negroes alike—to assist in the common purpose; and having some 6,000 or 7,000 trusty soldiers at his command, he speedily raised batteries and parapets, in which cotton bales played a conspicuous part, and bade defiance to the British.

In the beginning of December, Admiral Cochrane's squadron arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, with a considerable body of troops, commanded by Major-General Keane. The first object was to reduce a flotilla of gun-boats on Lake Borgne; which was gallantly performed on the 14th, by Captain Locker and the boats of the squadron. On the 23rd, the first division of troops, amounting to 2,400 men, was landed within six miles of the city; and in the night they were attacked by the Americans; but, after sustaining some loss, maintained their position. On the 25th, Major-General Sir E. Pakenham (an officer of distinguished merit, who had served in the Peninsular war, and was, besides, the brother of the Duke of Wellington) arrived, and took the command. He found the British posted on a piece of flat ground, with the Mississippi on one side, and on the right a thick wood. The enemy was stationed behind an intrenchment, extending from the river on the right, to the wood on the left—a distance of about a thousand yards. This line was strengthened with flank works, and had a canal in front, four feet deep. On the further bank of the Mississippi, the Americans had a battery of twelve guns, which enfiladed the whole of their position. The disposition for the attack by night was formidable; but unexpected difficulties, increased by the falling of the river, occasioned considerable delay to the entrance of the armed boats; and it did not take place till the columns were discernible from the enemy's line at more than 200 yards' distance. The troops on each side were nearly 10,000; and since the breaking out of the war, no engagement had, perhaps, been fought with so much bravery—none, certainly, with so disastrous a result. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to 2,040, including in the former the commander-in-chief, who fell while bravely encouraging his men on the edge of the glacis; and among the wounded, Generals Gibbs and Keane, the former of whom expired on the following day. The loss of the enemy, according to the official account, was almost incredibly small. It certainly did not exceed seventy-one: we have seen it estimated at less. The defence of New Orleans immortalised Andrew Jackson.

General Lambert, on whom the command of the troops now devolved, after holding a consultation with Admiral Cochrane, determined to re-embark his men, and abandon the enterprise. The concluding operation of the war was the capture of Fort Bowyer, on Mobile Point, in the Gulf of Mexico; which, being wholly unable to resist the British force, capitulated on the 11th of February, 1815.

Another gleam of success cheered the British. The *President*, one of the largest frigates yet sent to sea by the United States, commanded by Captain Decatur, accompanied by the *Macedonian* armed brig, laden with provisions, sailed from New York during one of those gales in which the blockading squadron was driven out to sea. After a long chase, the *Endymion*, Captain Hope, came up with the former, when a severe action ensued, in which the *President*, having crippled her adversary in the rigging, was unable to go a-head. The British frigate *Pomona* now coming up, the *President* surrendered, after exchanging a few broadsides.

In the middle of February, news arrived in America that peace had been settled on terms which left matters exactly where they were; and thus we cannot but pronounce the war as wicked as it was futile. The treaty (which was negotiated, on the part of the Americans, by Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin; and, on the part of Great Britain, by Lord Gambier, Goulbourn, and Adams) was silent on the grand cause of the war, and primary object of dispute—the right of search; but America abandoned her claim for compensation for the captures made under the British orders in council, and omitted any mention of her original pretensions. All conquests on either side were to be restored, Britain retaining her islands on Passamaquoddy Bay—lands which were her's by the treaty of 1783; and the boundaries of the Canadian frontier were defined. Both parties agreed to use their utmost exertions to promote the abolition of the slave-trade. In England, in some quarters, disappointment was manifested in consequence of the peace being concluded just as we were becoming able to put more strength into the contest; but the wise and good, and, indeed, the public in general, felt that it was better to make peace than to make war with the Americans—after all, our own flesh and blood. In America, angry discontent had been provoked, in several of the states, by the prolongation of the contest, the malcontents threatening to refuse payment of the taxes, and even contemplating a secession from the federal union. The bearer of the ratification of the treaty was honoured by the Americans with a most joyous welcome, and carried through the principal streets of New York in peaceful triumph. It was a pity that, while the diplomatists were at work, the treaty did not settle, but only postpone questions. It was left to another generation to discuss the boundary of Maine; but a clause was inserted, to which Mr. Cobden was accustomed to refer in defence of his peace doctrines—that neither nation should keep an armed ship on those inland seas which lie between their respective territories.

Mr. Ward Beecher, the popular (and deservedly popular) clergyman of New York, bitterly complained of “the meanness” of England in taking advantage of the civil war in America, to assume an angry and threatening attitude towards that country with reference to the affair of the *Trent*. Had he consulted the records of his own native land, he would have felt that, as an American, he should have been the last to urge such a complaint. Engaged in a war with the colossal power of Napoleon when the American declaration of war reached us, our fleets and armies had enough to do. Peace was to us a matter of vital importance. But, in America, there was a party unceasingly hostile to Great Britain; and that party triumphed, and continued to triumph, till the supreme power of the republic was placed in the unsullied hands of Abraham Lincoln. They retaliated on our orders in council in a very suicidal fashion, by a Non-intercourse Act, laying an embargo on all vessels of the British: and then, thinking that they could, with very little trouble, win Canada from us, and refusing to listen to overtures of peace, they went to war. Americans had made up their minds to show the world what they could do. Undoubtedly, Englishmen underrated their strength and importance. The former had been at peace for thirty years; they had kept up no military establishment; and their navy, comparatively speaking, was small. The pride of England was to be abased; she was to be taught to do honour to the stars and stripes; and, in the trial of strength which ensued, we suffered more from the navy of America, than we had, in the course of long years of hostility, from that of France. Nevertheless, when there was peace in Europe, it was wise in America to retire from the contest with dignity. To have fought England single-handed, not only might, but must have involved an awful sacrifice of blood and treasure. And it was magnanimous on the part of the English ministry, when they had no longer an enemy in Europe, to decline to carry on the war.

Some writers intimate, that so unequal were the Americans to the task which they had undertaken, that had we prolonged the contest, we might have gained



better terms. "So low," writes Mr. Macfarlane, "was the state of public credit, that no loan could be negotiated. A system of taxation was resorted to, which added fuel to the fire. In none of the New England states would war-taxes ever have been paid. Six months of sternness and perseverance on the part of Great Britain, would have taught the Americans a salutary lesson: twelve months' perseverance and energy in carrying out our blockade, and without any more expeditions by land, or any other risks or expenses, the feeble ties which kept the northern and southern states together, would have been snapped like a scorched thread." It can only be said, in reply, that the Americans had won their freedom in spite of our utmost efforts to retain them as colonists; that in the war just concluded we had won no laurels; that America and England, speaking the same tongue, owning a common origin, inspired by the same grand literature, are bound, by the duties they owe to themselves and the world, to remain at peace.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### AFFAIRS IN INDIA.

THE time has now arrived for us to resume the story of our Indian rule. Sir Arthur Wellesley had come and conquered. But in India, at that time, war was a stern necessity of our existence. Insurrection, defeated in one quarter, was sure to reappear in another. In 1806, the mutiny at Vellore—when the sepoys rose and massacred many English officers and men—took place; and instructions had been sent out to the officers to mix more with the natives, and to adopt a more conciliatory treatment of their troops.

In 1807, Lord Minto was called upon to interfere in the affairs of Travancore.

In 1809 we were fighting with the Pindarees. They were brigands in the worst sense of the term, making war in the most rapacious, bloody, and perfidious manner. Murder, torture, and violence distinguished their incursions upon the possessions of the principal communities of Central India. Even the hill fortresses of Rajpootana afforded little protection against their daring attacks. They were accustomed to form themselves into distinct bodies, having separate leaders, but all combining when necessity required. Mounted on fleet horses, they would perform the most extraordinary marches; and have been known to travel 120 miles in ten hours. Dr. Hutehinson, an Anglo-Indian, thus describes the Pindaree:—

"The steed paws the ground with a snort and a neigh;  
The Pindaree has mounted, and hied him away;  
He has braced on his shield and his sword by his side,  
And forth he has gone on a foray to ride.

"His turban is twisted and wreathed round his brow;  
Its colour is red, as his blood is its glow;  
From his shoulder behind him his carbine is slung,  
And light o'er his saddle his long spear is hung."

The sequel is not quite so flattering. The poet adds:—

"The river is forded, the frontier is passed,  
And they reach the lone village by midnight at last.  
Would you gather its fate? In the darkness of night  
The forests around it are red in its light.

"Its dwellers have fled, in the wild woods to roam;  
All roofless and black is the place of their home;  
And their daughters, dishonoured, are weeping in vain,  
Nor will boast of their pride and their scorning again."

Another subject settled at this time was that of Dacoitee, or gang-robbery—a crime peculiar, in the systematic manner of its pursuit, to India. It is one of the features of caste, that the trade or profession of the father is followed by the son. The members of some castes cannot depart from the custom of their ancestors without a sacrifice of all family ties, and an apostasy from their religion. Thus the Dacoits of the present day plead prescriptive usage. “I have always followed the trade of my ancestors—Dacoitee. My ancestors held this profession before me, and we train boys in the same manner. In my caste, if there were any persons not robbers, they would be turned out,” said an informer, on one occasion: and the same tale has been said a hundred times. The Dacoits are associated with Zemindars, and other persons of social respectability; and in consequence of their numbers, and their connections with the police, the greater part of their robberies are committed with impunity. As their object is simply plunder, they avoid the commission of murder.—Well, to crush this terrible evil Lord Minto made every preparation. The police was in a very inefficient state—corrupt, ill-paid, and feeble: instead of its being a protection, it was a curse to the villages. At one time its duties were entirely performed under the surveillance of the Zemindars; but this had ceased to be the case. New plans, comprising a complete reform, were devised. But the magnitude of the evil was so great, that, under Lord Minto, it was found impossible to do all that was desirable. He was obliged to be content with the partial suppression of Dacoitee: and to this hour it is rife in Lower Bengal; and the authorities in vain attempt wholly and effectually to put it down.

The leader of these fierce mounted robbers was, in 1809, the far-famed Ameer Khan, whose exploits formed, for many years, in Upper India, the theme for eulogistic verse. This Ameer Khan, not contented with having seized part of the territories of Holkar, threatened the dominions of our ally, the Rajah of Berar; and Lord Minto began to fear that Ameer would gradually approach the Nizam’s territories, and form a scheme with that fickle prince to restore Mahommedanism, and to destroy the British power. In order that this might be frustrated, he proffered British aid to the Rajah of Berar, and Ameer Khan felt himself bound to retire beyond the frontier after a single action.

Lord Minto had also to contend, even in that distant quarter of the globe, with the intrigues of Napoleon, who had never relinquished his design of invading India, and driving out the British. He was obliged to despatch a mission to Persia, to counteract the efforts which the French were making to establish relations with the Shah, inimical to our interests. With the same view he likewise sent an ambassador to Cabul.

In 1809, we find Lord Minto engaged in measures for the capture of the Mauritius, which then went by the name of the Isle of France. From that quarter, in spite of the presence of a powerful naval armament in the Indian Ocean, hostile attacks were being constantly made by armed vessels upon our maritime commerce. “Occasionally” (we quote Wilson’s continuation of Mill’s *History*), “they fell victims to their audacity, and were made to feel the superiority of British skill and prowess; but although they swept the seas from Madagascar to Java, and sometimes carried their depredations to the immediate vicinity of the British harbours, they were, for the most part, singularly fortunate in avoiding the track of English frigates and men-of-war. Their principal spoil arose from the capture of the merchant ships employed in the trade of the eastern seas, whose cargoes, often of considerable value, they carried for sale to the ports from whence they had sailed; but they also inflicted serious damage upon the Company’s commerce; and, from time to time, valuable Indiamen fell into their hands. In six weeks, the losses by capture, to the port of Calcutta alone, exceeded £300,000. The number of vessels captured from the Company, during eighteen years of the revolutionary war, amounted to thirty, whose united cargoes were valued at nearly a million of money.” Lord Minto trusted, by taking possession of those places where the French ships



found shelter and obtained supplies, to put an end to this unpleasant state of things. Accordingly, he sent out an expedition, which was well planned, and judiciously executed. In spite of vigorous opposition, both the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius fell into the hands of the British. Lord Minto next directed his views to the destruction of the Dutch settlements in India, which were then under the dominion of France. The islands of Batavia and the Eastern Archipelago constituted a rallying-point for an enemy's ships, which appeared likely to acquire fresh importance after the destruction of the French harbours. Accordingly, a fleet of men-of-war, carrying a body of European and native troops, was forwarded to Java, and the other Dutch East Indian islands, and they were reduced after a short, yet sharp, encounter. Thus a possession which had for three centuries contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of all of the most respected and flourishing states of Europe, was wrested from the short usurpation of France, and added to the dominions of the British crown, and a troublesome foe turned into a helping friend. By the reduction of Java, the eastern sea was left without an enemy, and commerce pursued a course uninterrupted by pirates, or by hostile ships of war, though at that time all Europe, under Napoleon, was armed against us. On the conclusion of peace, Java was, of course, restored to Holland.

In a little while our Indian possessions were in imminent peril, not so much from our enemies, as from the troops we had raised and cherished. A mutiny of a remarkably dangerous character had broken out in the Madras army. The government, acting under the advice of the commander-in-chief, had abolished the allowance which officers commanding regiments had been in the habit of receiving for the camp equipage of their corps. The commander-in-chief had been influenced in his recommendation of the measure by Colonel Munro, the quartermaster-general, who hinted that the grant of the same allowance, in peace and war, for the equipment of the native corps, made it the interest of the commanding officers that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and, therefore, furnished strong inducements to them to neglect their most important duties. The commanding officers were very indignant, and requested the commander-in-chief, General Macdowall, to try Colonel Munro by court-martial: and the colonel, accordingly, was placed under arrest. Sir George Barlow, the Madras governor, ordered his release: a conflict of powers then arose, which, placing the army in an antagonistic attitude towards the higher authorities, produced a series of angry remonstrances on one side, and numerous arrests and dismissals on the other. Ultimately, some of the officers seized Seringapatam, and there, supported by sepoys, bade defiance to the government. Royal troops were sent to besiege them. A crisis had arrived: matters wore a serious aspect; each party was obstinate. In this perilous state of affairs Lord Minto hastened to Madras, and by his firm and conciliatory measures, brought back the officers to their allegiance. The whole affair might have been prevented if Barlow had not been a most despotic governor. "Brought up," writes Mr. Stocqueler, "in the school of Lord Wellesley, whose imperious rule had long been accustomed to demand and receive prompt and unquestioned submission, Sir George entertained exalted notions of the authority entrusted to him. The slightest opposition was viewed in the gravest light, and ensured either intemperate remonstrance, or condign punishment."

The year 1813 witnessed the departure of Lord Minto, and the appointment of Lord Moira (afterwards Marquis of Hastings), as his successor as governor-general. The renewal of the charter of the East India Company, concerning which innumerable petitions had been presented, came before the House of Commons on the 22nd of March. Lord Castlereagh having stated that the term of the existing charter would expire in May, 1814, and that his majesty's ministers had to consider three propositions—whether the existing government in India should be allowed to continue in its present state? whether an entire change should take place in the present system? or whether a middle course should be adopted on a question of so much importance?—it was deemed necessary to hear evidence at the

bar; and the witnesses, chiefly persons who had occupied high stations in India, were against opening the trade, or allowing missionaries to repair to the East, for the purpose of converting the natives. On this latter question, however, there was, in this country, a considerable difference of opinion. Sir J. Barlow, of course, writes home, opposing the introduction of Christianity; and Mr. Wilberforce was very anxious to get the church of England to move in the matter. In 1812, we find him writing to Gisborne about East India religious instruction, urging him to publish a short pamphlet for the sake of stirring up the clergy. Wilberforce is represented by his biographers as "trying to keep back the dissenters and Methodists until the church fairly came forward, from fear that, if the sectaries begin, the church will not follow." Warm-hearted and zealous Wilberforce at length informs his friends (what a reproach to the establishment of which he was a supporter!)—"I am not without hopes of prevailing on a considerable party in the church of England to interest themselves on the occasion; but I own I fear that if the dissenters and Methodists come into action before our force from the establishment has stirred, a great part of the latter will either desert our ranks, or be cold and reluctant followers." Poor Wilberforce had a hard time of it. The Bishop of Durham felt the importance of the subject; but he thought he could not move in it till one of the archbishops had taken the matter up. Perceval is favourable; but sees great difficulties in the way. In the House of Commons, it was evident that the struggle in 1813 would be very arduous. The great mass of Anglo-Indians were convinced that the attempt to Christianise the East would infallibly cost us our dominion; and though they might reluctantly consent to the scanty ecclesiastical establishment (one bishop and three archdeacons) for the English residents in India, which government had been persuaded to propose, they were determined to abate none of their hostility to missionary efforts. They proposed, therefore, that the entire regulation of the subject should be left wholly, for the next twenty years, to the East India Company, who had unequivocally shown what would be their rule of conduct. On this point, then, the contest turned. The temper of the House of Commons was not to be mistaken; and it was only by bringing forcibly to bear on it the religious feeling of the country, that Mr. Wilberforce could hope for success. Now that he was in the strife, however, he set about it with an energy and resolution which had never been exceeded even in the vigour of his early manhood, when he fought the abolition battle. "The truth is," he tells Mr. Hey, "and a dreadful truth it is, that the opinions of nine-tenths, or at least of a vast majority of the House of Commons, would be against any motion which the friends of religion might make; but I trust it is different with the great body of our people; and petitions are to be presented, with a view to bring their sentiments and feelings to bear upon the opposite tenets and dispositions of the members of parliament." In vain the opposition were appealed to; Lord Grenville was "dry and cold upon the matter;" and Mr. Tierney was one of his most obstinate opponents. Actually some one went so far as to grieve the philanthropist by saying—"It may be shocking, Mr. W., to say so, but I do believe Hindooism is a better religion for them than Christianity would be;" and yet Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Grant were ready to affirm, "that prudent, and gradual, and successful endeavours to improve and Christianise our Indian population, would strengthen our hold on that country, and render it more securely ours." At length government gave way, and Lord Castlereagh agreed to Mr. Wilberforce's resolution—"far," as he tells us, "surpassing my expectation." But the battle had still to be fought in the Commons. The appearance of the House, at the beginning of the evening, was as bad as could be, and Lord Castlereagh opened the subject very discreetly and judiciously. Never did Mr. Wilberforce speak with greater power. Twenty years before he had appeared in the same place, the eloquent advocate of the same cause. A majority of 89 to 36 in his favour was the result. Success had been gained partly by his own speech and that of Lord Castlereagh; but the impression of 900 petitions—a number at that time



unparalleled—could not be mistaken. “Let no man think,” said Mr. Wilberforce, “that the petitions with which we have loaded the table have been produced by a momentary burst of enthusiasm, or that the zeal of the petitioners will be soon expended. No, sir, it will be found to be steady as the light of heaven. While the sun and moon continue to shine in the firmament, so long will this object be pursued with unabated ardour, until the great work be accomplished.” And thus measures were adopted tending to the introduction of useful knowledge and religious instruction among the natives of India; and affording facilities to persons desirous of going there, or of remaining in India for that purpose.

The East India Company had a mitigated triumph: their free-trade opponents failed, but their religious gained the day. The government secured to the Company, for a further term of twenty years (or until 1834), all their possessions in India, including the later acquisitions, continental and insular, to the north of the equator. Their exclusive right to commercial intercourse with China, and to the tea trade, was confirmed. British subjects in general were permitted to trade to and from all parts, within the limits of the charter, under certain provisions. All ships engaged in this private trade to be of the burden of 350 tons, or upwards; and those for the settlements of Fort William, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales’ Island, to be provided with a licence, which the Court of Directors was bound to grant. To all other places a special licence was required, which the directors might grant or refuse, subject to an appeal to the Board of Control. The church establishment in India was placed under the direction of a bishop and three archdeacons. The application of the Company’s revenue was directed to the maintenance of the military force, and of the establishments at their settlements; the payment of the interest of their debts in England; their territorial debt; their bond debt at home; and such other purposes as the directors, with the approbation of the Board of Control, might appoint. The dividend on India stock was limited to 10 per cent., until the fund, called the “separate fund,” should be exhausted, when it was to be 10½; and the number of troops for which payment was to be made by the Company was limited to 20,000, unless a greater number should be sent to India at the request of the directors. Thus the new charter secured to the Company all the political power they could reasonably desire; while the continuance of their exclusive right of trading between China and Great Britain, left the most valuable portion of their business without competition. For a little longer their trade monopoly is safe. Already, however, it is looked at with envious eyes; and, in time, it will give way, as all monopolies must, before truth, equity, and common sense. Mr. Wilberforce doubts the justice of the monopoly. In time we shall see the sense of that injustice common all over the country, and in parliament alike.

The public were little interested in the discussion; but commercial men were very eager on the matter. Innumerable were the pamphlets issued at that time, advocating the opening the trade to India; the admission of Europeans to hold land there; the freedom of the press; and, in fact, a general system of colonisation. To all these arguments the friends of the existing system replied, by counter-pamphlets, and in parliament, that the expectation of the extension of the trade, by rendering it free, was a delusion. The natives, it was argued, had few wants, and would not purchase European commodities. The opening the country to the ingress of Englishmen was looked upon with horror. It was argued that the poorer classes could not labour in such a climate; and the more educated and better off would only disturb the peace of the country, unsettle the minds of the natives, and endanger the government. Of course, a free press was quite out of the question.

But to return to India. The new governor-general was not from choice, but from necessity, as warlike as any of his predecessors. The theoretical policy of himself, as well as of Lord Minto, was not to interfere in native quarrels, or to engage in wars with the natives; but, as much as possible, to devote themselves to the developing the resources of the country, and the best interests of the inhabit-

ants. But it generally turned out quite otherwise. This was especially true of Lord Hastings. He was incessantly engaged in field operations. The Mahrattas and the Pindarees, interpreting our abstinence from war into fear, and restless under the treaties, mingled intrigue with incursions, and compelled the government to take up arms. Nor were they our only enemies. The Ghoorkas of Nepaul descended into the provinces, at the southern base of their mountain range, and committed many outrages in Lord Minto's time. They had taken forcible possession of lands, and refused to give them up, claiming them as a right. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, to settle the disputed question; but the Nepaulese showed no desire to relinquish their hold upon the property they had acquired; and when the troops returned, in the rainy season, the Ghoorkas murdered the civil officers left in charge of the district.

About this period the whole island of Ceylon came into the British possession; the King of Candy, who ruled the interior, having compelled the inhabitants, by a series of atrocious enormities, to throw off his yoke. Early in the year 1815, General Brownrigg, the governor of the British possessions on the coast, issued a proclamation, declaring that he made war on the tyrant alone, and promising protection to his oppressed subjects. An adequate force then penetrated to the capital, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. The king was delivered up without the loss of a single man, and a treaty was concluded, by which the British authority was established in the whole island; the rights and immunities of the chiefs were secured; the religion of Buddha was established; torture and mutilation were abolished; and no sentence of death was to be executed without a warrant from the British governor.

For two years, from 1814 to 1816, the contest between the English and the Nepaulese was carried on. It was a species of warfare to which the former were not accustomed: their generals were, with few exceptions, incompetent, and the enemy was at once daring and skilful. "Growing experience, and unlimited resources," says the author whom we have already quoted, "aided the English, and a change of commanders altered the aspect of affairs. General Martindell had been beaten back; General Marley fled from his camp; General Wood wasted a campaign in idleness; General Ochterlony and Colonel Gardner retrieved our ill-fortunes. The former, in spite of the perils and privations to which he and his troops had been exposed, forced the passes, and defeated the whole force of the Ghoorkas at Muckwaupore; while Gardner, with a force of Rohillas, assisted by the regulars under Colonel Nicholls, laid siege to, and captured Almorah. The Nepaulese then formally acceded to the terms previously offered, retiring in perpetuity within the limits prepared for them; and the country, from Kemaoun to the Sutlej, was ceded to the English.

The two following years were devoted to the destruction of the Mahratta power and the Pindarees. This time a formidable combination was formed to drive the British away. Holkar, Scindia, the Peishwa, and the Rajah of Berar, all joined together: but Lord Hastings was equal to the emergency. He took the field in person; but so vast a theatre of war as Central India and the Deccan required a division of forces. Fortunately, Lord Hastings was surrounded by officers, military and civil, of superior ability. There were few more distinguished men in India, either before or since, than the gentlemen to whom Lord Hastings had to look for counsel and aid. Generals Smith, Hislop, Pritzler, and Doulton; Sir Charles Metcalfe, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Richard Jenkins, and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, were not ordinary men. Each, in his sphere, proved more than equal to the occasion. The troops, too, were full of ardour, and gave some striking proofs of their devotion to the service. A gallant stand, made at the village of Corygaum, by a single regiment and a small battery, against the whole of the Peishwa's army; a cavalry charge at Seetubaldee; two batteries at Kirkee and Mahidpore, contributed greatly to the common result, and elevated the military renown of the British beyond all precedent: and for these successes in



the field the British parliament voted its thanks, and Earl Moira was made Marquis of Hastings.

Diplomacy, also, was doing its work; and, in the hands of honest men, it was more than a match for the craft and wile of Indian rajahs and their ministers. Lord Wellesley had learnt that it was impossible to carry on the great game of war any longer with an exhausted treasury; and by policy we were to rule India for the future, rather than by the sword. To be a civilian in India, is not merely, as Mr. J. William Kaye remarks, "to be a member of a great bureaucracy." The duties which he is called upon to face are not solely the duties of the desk. As the soldier in India is often called upon to lay down the sword, and to take up the portfolio of the administration, so the civilian is often, on the great high road of his duty, surrounded by circumstances which compel him to lay down the portfolio, and gird on the sword. Of the civilian-soldier, there is no better type than Sir Henry Lawrence; of the soldier-civilian, there is none better than Mountstuart Elphinstone. Both, by their unaided exertions, attained to the highest honours: the one in the greatest crisis which our Indian empire has witnessed, was appointed, provisionally, to the governor-generalship; the other was twice offered the governor-generalship, and twice refused it.

The name of Lawrence we first hear of in India in connection with the siege of Seringapatam. That name, so venerable and illustrious, was of humble origin, comparatively speaking. At the siege referred to, the forlorn hope of each attack consisted of a sergeant and twelve Europeans, who were followed by two subalterns' parties: that of the right column was commanded by Lieutenant Hill, of the 74th; and the other, of the left column, by Lieutenant Lawrence, of the 77th. Of these two heroic men, the first-named went to his death; the second was preserved to be the founder of a noble line.

In 1799, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the fourth son of a Scottish peer, at the age of sixteen embarked for India. He arrived there in the very nick of time. Lord Wellesley was a man with a grand policy; and, scorning all constitutional restraints, he determined to work it out. This grand policy was incompatible with peace; so, in a little time, our armies were in motion; firstly in Southern India, where Tippoo was to be overthrown; and then in Central India, where accounts had to be settled with the Mahratta princes. At the battle of Assaye, the young civilian rode side by side with Sir Arthur Wellesley, who recommended him to his brother for promotion. At the conclusion of peace, Mr. Elphinstone was appointed to represent British interests at the Court of the Rajah of Berar, and he remained at Nagpore. After the departure of Lord Wellesley from India, during the brief second reign of Lord Cornwallis, and the interregnum of Sir George Barlow, in 1807, the British government in India, now represented by Lord Minto, required the aid of its ablest servants; for, after the peace of Tilsit, there was great fear felt for our rule in India, in consequence of the alliance then formed between Russia and France. Amongst the vast projects cherished, was a conjoint expedition to divide the territories of the East India Company between them. It was expected that the attack would be by land rather than by sea; and it was of primary importance, therefore, for the English government to be on friendly terms with the rulers of Afghanistan and Scinde, on the Punjaub. Accordingly, Mr. Elphinstone was despatched to the Court of Cabul; and by showing the Shah of Persia, that if he entered into a compact with the European powers hostile to England, he would inevitably be destroyed, stimulated him to put forth all his strength to impede their progress. There was soon harder work for him to do. The situation is thus described by Metcalfe:—"There is Runjeet Singh, looking on eagerly from the north-west. There is Meer Khan, within a few marches of Agra and Delhi frontiers. There are Scindia, and the Rajah of Berar, settling whether they shall attack us or not, and thus virtually menacing our frontier from Agra down to Cuttack. There are the Pindarees, ready to pour themselves into every defenceless country."

There were few men, let us remark, by way of digression, better acquainted with the politics of Upper India, than the writer of the last paragraph, Charles Metcalfe, then resident at Delhi; and the statesmen by whom Lord Hastings was surrounded, were eager to obtain an expression of his views. They were strongly in favour of a settlement. He knew, that until vigorous measures had been taken to crush the Pindarees, and to place upon a more satisfactory footing our relations with the substantial Mahratta states, there could be no real peace: and the policy he recommended was the one pursued.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, at Poonah, was aware of the treachery of Badjee Rao, and describes his ministers as an intriguing, prevaricating, shuffling, lying, cavilling, grumbling, irritating set of rascals. At length the crisis came—the residency was attacked, burned. The British troops came forward; the Peishwa's army was utterly routed, and the great city of Poonah lay helpless and prostrate at our feet. Badjee Rao became a fugitive; and Mountstuart Elphinstone, as was sportively said at the time, became Peishwa in his place. A new career opened itself before him. He had hitherto been a diplomatist: he was now to find another field for the exercise of his great abilities. The territories ruled by the Peishwa were now to become part and parcel of the British dominions. He had forfeited them by acts of treacherous hostility; and the English government deemed it essential to their security, to curb, for ever, his power to disturb or threaten the peace of the country. The year 1818 found Mr. Elphinstone entering on his new duties as commissioner, or governor, of the Poonah territories—a difficult task, and requiring much knowledge of the people, of their manners and customs, and sympathy with them; and all this Mr. Elphinstone possessed in a very great degree. Bishop Heber writes of him—"He is in every respect an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to, public business, a love of literature, and a degree of universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated; and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military duties, he has found time, not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance in the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literature of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society; and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends, in what hours of the day or night he found time for the acquisition of knowledge."

From Poonah, Mr. Elphinstone removed to Bombay, where he was chosen to fill the office of governor, and where, by his wisdom and virtue, he made for himself an enduring place in the hearts of all.

Here, also, we must record the introduction of a new and better leaven into Indian society: we refer to the advent of Henry Martyn, a man of whom all sects and parties in the church of England are proud—as well they may be—since, in the language of Sir James Stephen, "it is, in fact, the one heroic name which adorns her annals from the days of Elizabeth to our own."

When, in 1806, Henry Martyn, from the halls of Cambridge, where he had won the highest rank, abandoning the golden prospects of life opening around him, landed, a humble chaplain, on the shores of India, society was but slowly recovering from the immorality sanctioned and practised by nearly all whites. Carey and Marshman were treated as low-born demagogues, who, if let alone, would unsettle all our institutions, and stir up the natives to revolt. With rare exceptions, little progress was made by the English in acquiring a knowledge of the language and literature of India, and, through them, of the character, habits of thought, and



social and religious institutions of the people. The time not passed in the public offices and courts was devoted generally to loose pleasures and coarse pastimes. Warren Hastings set a bad example, which had found too many imitators. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* says—"He had been living, for some years, with the wife of a Baron Imhoff; and when the convenient laws of a foreign land, deriving no sanction from Christianity, formally severed the bond which had long been practically disregarded, the governor-general had the execrably bad taste to celebrate his marriage with the elegant adulteress in a style of the utmost magnificence, attended with open display and festal rejoicing. What was to be expected from the body of society when the head was thus morally diseased. Francis was a hundred times worse than Hastings. The latter was weak under a pressure of temptation. He was not disposed to pay homage to virtue by throwing a cloak over his vices; and did not sufficiently consider the bad influence which his conduct was calculated to exercise over society at large. In him, it is true, there was a sad want of influence; but, in Francis, an evil principle was ever at work. His vices were all active vices—deliberate, ingenious, laborious. His lust was, like his malice, unimpulsive, studious, given to subtle contrivances demanding the exercise of high intellectual ability. When he addressed himself to the deliberate seduction of Madame Grand, he brought all the mental energy and subtlety of matured manhood to bear upon the unsuspecting virtue of an inexperienced girl of sixteen. Here, indeed, were leaders of society not only corrupting the morals, but disturbing the peace of the presidency. The members of the council fought duels with each other; and their example had many imitators." In the few years which followed there was improvement; but we can fully understand how life in India would be very different from life at home, and the need there was of an effort to raise the standard in that community of private life, by the inculcation of the lofty morality and the sublime example of the Saviour. To do this—to preach Christ and him crucified, was the single aim of Henry Martyn, and to this aim he sacrificed his life.

Like most of the world's reformers, Henry Martyn came of a humble stock. His father was a Cornish miner, who, by his industry and intelligence, had obtained a situation in a merchant's office. Young Henry was sent, for nine years, to the grammar-school of Truro. It is recorded that he was docile, and quick to learn; but he acquired no very remarkable reputation. The elder Martyn, however, had high hopes of his son, who, when scarcely fifteen years old, was sent to Oxford, to try for a Corpus fellowship. The poor lad failed, and had to return to Truro. This was his first great disappointment in life.

Two years later, Henry Martyn was at Cambridge. He went there with increased classical, but with very little mathematical knowledge. The commencement of his Cambridge career was not promising. So little did he at first take to mathematics, that he endeavoured to commit the problems of Euclid to memory. Out of such a one it seemed impossible to make an eminent mathematician. The great annual contest over, Henry Martyn found himself senior wrangler. He had gained the highest object of academical ambition; but it afforded him little gratification. It enhanced the bitterness of his regret for the death of his father; and as he had recently commenced a strictly religious career, it made him more than ever suspicious of stumbling into the pitfalls of human pride. "I obtained my highest wishes," he said; "but I was surprised to find that I had grasped a shadow."

In 1801, Martyn came under the influence of Mr. Simeon, and prepared himself for holy orders. At this time he was a Fellow of St. John's; but the employment did not please him; and it is, in some quarters, doubted whether, notwithstanding his eminent abilities, he was well qualified for the work of tuition. In 1803, he was ordained a deacon of the church of England, and commenced his ministerial career as Mr. Simeon's curate—a step which required some courage, as evangelical preaching was not popular at Cambridge; and it was but recently that

the opposition had ceased from proceedings of a threatening and disorderly character. Martyn, however, manfully performed his work. At this time he fell in with the *Life of David Brainerd*, and its perusal excited within him an earnest desire to go and do likewise. The story of Dr. Carey also fired his mind. But there were difficulties in the way. The little property his father left had been lost, and his sisters were thrown on his exertions. Help came in an unexpected quarter. Mr. Charles Grant, the friend of Wilberforce and Simeon, and an East India director, was very anxious about the evangelisation of India; and it was thought that if proper chaplains to the Company's servants were sent out, much good might, in an indirect way, be done to the natives. Mr. Simeon mentioned Martyn's name. Accordingly, he went up to town; dined at Clapham with Grant and Wilberforce; and in time had the chaplainship given him.

In the summer of 1805 he sailed for his new home. On his way the fleet touched at Falmouth. He availed himself of the circumstance to renew his intercourse with the friends of his youth, and to utter to one, whom he loved more than all, the dearest affections of his heart. His suit was in vain; the lady loved another: and this second disappointment served but to strengthen and mature the missionary spirit which was henceforth to ennoble and immortalise his life.

On his voyage out, Martyn tasted some of the difficulties of his position. He was on board a troop-ship; and troop-ships in those days were not congenial residences for men burning with religious zeal. When he arrived in Calcutta he had as many obstacles thrown in his way as on board ship. Actually, more than one clergyman bitterly preached against him. Another disappointment befel him. On his arrival in India he saw no reasons for supposing that marriage was desirable for a missionary; but after a while his opinions began to change, and his hopes to revive. His friends advised him to make another effort to win the Cornish lady—Miss Grenfell—the suit to whom had so little prospered while at home. Accordingly, he despatched a letter to Cornwall; and good Mr. Simeon took the trouble to visit the Grenfells, and talk over “Mr. Martyn's affair” with the young lady; but, alas! in vain. It is clear she was not sufficiently in love with Martyn to marry him; and it was also clear that she would have been much to blame had she done so.

Martyn was terribly disappointed; but he rose superior to his trials, and went on translating the Scriptures. As he became better acquainted with the languages, he began to make a commencement of preaching to the natives. In 1810, he records in his journal—“Nothing has occurred this last year but my removal to Cawnpore, and the commencement of my ministry—as I hope it may be called—among the Gentiles. This, with my endeavours to instruct the servants, has been blessed by the Lord to the improvement of my temper and behaviour towards them.”

But, at Cawnpore, it was manifest that the family disease, consumption, was beginning to appear in Henry Martyn. His friends (the Sherwoods) had perceived, with grief, that, as he grew in grace, his bodily health decayed. To stay at Cawnpore was death. So, after much reflection, and much prayer, he determined that, with the permission of the temporal authorities, and the approval of the recognised patriarch of the English church, he would fulfil his long-cherished project of journeying to Persia, there to improve his knowledge of its language; to obtain assistance in the translation of the Scriptures, and to dispute with the Moollahs.

To Bombay he sailed with Mountstuart Elphinstone; and at that presidency he became acquainted with Sir James Mackintosh and Sir John Malcolm. To the latter he appeared an exceedingly cheerful person (at this time he seems to have got rid of the irritation and depression of spirits which often clouded his earlier life). Malcolm gave the missionary a letter of introduction to the British minister in Persia, Sir Gore Ouseley; in which he said that Martyn was “altogether a very learned and cheerful man, but a great enthusiast in his holy calling. I am



satisfied that if you ever see him you will be pleased with him. He will give you grace before and after dinner; and admonish such of your party as take the Lord's name in vain; but his good sense and great learning will delight you; whilst his constant cheerfulness will add to the hilarity of your party."

Arrived in Shiraz, he spent many months there, translating, studying, and disputing; but it was evident that the life he led was telling on him, and that his only chance of life was a speedy journey to England. In May, 1812, he left Shiraz for his native land, disappointed in his wish to present his translation of the Bible to the King of Persia—official obstructions and illness preventing.

Martyn commenced his home journey on the 2nd of September: on the morning of the 10th he arrived at Erivan; but he daily grew weaker and weaker. His last entry in his diary is dated October 5th:—"No horses being to be had, I had an unexpected repose. I sat in the orchard, and thought, with sweet comfort and peace, of my God—in solitude my companion, friend, and comforter. Oh, when shall time give place to eternity! When shall appear that new heaven and earth wherein dwelleth righteousness! There there shall in nowise enter in anything that defileth; none of that wickedness which has made men worse than wild beasts; none of those corruptions which add still more to the miseries of mortality shall be seen or heard of any more." In ten days the new heaven and the new earth had come to Henry Martyn. Eternity, with all its splendours, had appeared. Sickness and feebleness had been exchanged for strength and health—death had been swallowed up in life.

Well may the church of England revere the memory of Henry Martyn. As his last biographer has remarked—"He has left behind an example of Christian courage, patience, and self-sacrifice, the beauty and the freshness of which long years have in nowise dimmed—an example which Protestant Christians, of all denominations, admire and love; for it is the likeness of one in whom nothing earthly could quench the spirit of the apostle and martyr."

Let us resume the thread of our Indian narrative. By the spring of 1819, the Mahrattas were subdued, the Pindarees annihilated, and the British rule extended throughout India. The Marquis of Hastings devoted the remaining years of his sway to the settlement of a variety of smaller states; the extinction of piracy in the Gulf of Persia; the chastisement of the Rao of Cutch; the arrangement of a treaty with the Ameers of Scinde; and the restoration of tranquillity in Bareilly, where some serious disturbances had taken place. All the while civil improvements had been many and numerous. Bridges were erected; canals, tanks, and aqueducts excavated; lands cleared; roads constructed; churches, chapels, and lighthouses built; and the ecclesiastical establishment placed upon a creditable footing. The first bishop sent out from England was Dr. Middleton, who founded a college in the vicinity of Calcutta.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### ORDER REIGNS.

ONCE more we return to England, where peace had brought discontent and bankruptcy, instead of the anticipated blessings of abundance and wealth. Parliament had passed mischievous measures to postpone the impending crisis. Defended by the military, the landlords had carried the corn-laws to keep up their rents: and paper-money, in spite of Mr. Horner and Lord King, was declared, by parliament, not merely to be legal, but actually of equal value with gold. The war over,

soldiers had been disbanded; and those employed in the manufacture of the implements of warfare, found their occupation gone. Bad harvests and wild speculations still further aggravated the evils incident to the time. The *Gazette* teemed with notices of bankruptcy; and, in all the great cities of the empire, men and women were starving and dying for a bit of bread.

The poet tells us—

“Of all the ills that men endure,  
How small the part that laws can cure.”

This is true; but, as the laws passed at that time had considerably aggravated, if not created the ills which men endured, what wonder is it if the ignorant herd, whether of the agricultural or the manufacturing districts, thought that government could do something for their relief. As, however, it did nothing, hunger

de men parliamentary reformers; and, as Europe had been settled by means of physical force, it was but natural for the masses to believe that, by the same force, they could settle the condition of England, in a manner, at any rate, satisfactory to themselves.

In the year 1817, the farce, or tragedy, was really to be played out.

In going to open parliament, the prince-regent had been ill-received by a London mob. On his return, after delivering his speech from the throne, the carriage was surrounded; disloyal expressions were used; and, from words, the crowd proceeded to acts of violence. One of the glasses of the carriage was broken by stones, or balls from an air-gun, aimed at his royal highness.

In the Book of Common Prayer, the people are directed to pray, on behalf of the high court of parliament, “that Thou wouldest be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations, to the advancement of Thy glory; the good of Thy church; the safety, honour, and welfare of our sovereign and his dominions: that all things may be so ordered and settled, by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations.” In 1817, these prayers had been in vain.

The ministry of that time is thus drawn by Mr. Roebuck:—“The Perceval administration, and that of Lord Liverpool, until it was somewhat liberalised by the death of Lord Londonderry, and by the preponderance of Mr. Canning, were the two worst governments which this country has endured during the last sixty years. It was the period of Lord Eldon’s ascendancy, and bears the mark of his uncultivated intellect; his narrow sympathies; his restless jealousy; his fierce prejudices; his general ignorance of the causes on which the welfare of the empire depended; and his indifference to that welfare, even in the few cases by which he could understand the means by which it might have been promoted.

“Administrations in which such a spirit was predominant, were naturally administrations of delay, inaction, and repression. Their object was to keep the country stationary; to support bribery in the boroughs, and intimidation in the counties; to keep the Catholics degraded, and the negroes enslaved; to restrict our commerce, or misdirect our industry; to support corruption by patronage, patronage by large establishments, and large establishments by grinding taxation; and to make that very taxation a plea for prohibitory duties on the necessities of life. When misgovernment produced disease, and disease discontent, they applied their remedies, not to the disease, but to the symptoms; they tried, not to remove dissatisfaction, but to repress its explanation: they persecuted the press; they let loose the yeomanry on public meetings; and suspended the Habeas Corpus.”

This is a general indictment. The ministry were frightened, and lost their heads: they believed a vast plan of insurrection was formed, having its centre in the metropolis; but extending widely, also, through the mining and manufacturing districts of the north of England and Scotland; the object of which was the overthrow of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic in its stead. Mr.



Nordin writes to Lord Sidmouth, from Manchester—"Jan. 3rd, 1817. The lower orders are everywhere meeting in large bodies, and are very clamorous. Delegates, from all quarters, are moving about amongst them as they were before the late disturbance; and they talk of a general union of the lower orders throughout the kingdom." Again, the Duke of Northumberland writes—"A very wide and extensive plan of insurrection has been formed, and which might possibly have been acted upon before this time, but for the proper precautions used to prevent it." Mr. Hunt commenced a tour through the western provinces, addressing the people everywhere in the most seditious and inflammatory language; and, in the densely inhabited districts of the north, appearances were still more alarming. On the 3rd of February, the prince-regent communicated to both houses of parliament, the existence of a secret and wide-spread conspiracy against the government; and, upon its receipt, a secret committee was moved for, and appointed in both Houses. They made their report on the 19th of February, and it was of a sufficiently alarming character. They declared that a conspiracy, which had its ramifications all over England, had been formed to overturn the government. There was to be a general rising in the metropolis; the prisoners were to be liberated; the barracks of the military, the Tower, the Bank, and other places of importance, were to be set on fire; the tricolour was to be raised; and the soldiers were to be won over to the popular cause. In a few days after, the ministry got parliament to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and to carry a bill for the prevention of seditious meetings. In vain Whigs and Radicals endeavoured to prevent the passing of such acts, and ridiculed their necessity. In every step they took, the government commanded overwhelming majorities: even when they proposed to punish with death, if a meeting, being summoned by a magistrate to disperse, did not immediately do so, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Sir James Macintosh, strenuously endeavoured, but in vain, to get seven years' transportation substituted for that extreme penalty.

The people, instead of being intimidated, became exasperated. The Home Office became the head-quarters of a system of espionage, which created the conspiracies it sought to suppress. In January, 1818, Romilly writes—"There had been no interruption of public tranquillity since the month of June last—a remarkable period; for it was in that month of June, that the conduct of government, in employing spies and informers, had been exposed and condemned in the House of Commons. From that time government had ceased to employ such instruments; and from the time when they ceased to be employed, all the signs of disaffection which had manifested themselves in different parts of the country had ceased." There can be no clearer evidence of the panic which existed at that time in the minds of ministers, or of the imaginary character of most of the conspiracies, which they considered fraught with danger to church and state. In one sense the ministers were right. Church and state were in danger; and they always are in danger when bad government exists.

On the 27th of March, Lord Sidmouth addressed a circular to the lord-lieutenants of counties, calling their attention to the numerous blasphemous and seditious publications which were circulating through the country; and stating, that any justice might issue a warrant to apprehend any person circulating such publications, upon oath, and hold him to bail. Numerous arrests were made in London, as Sir Samuel Romilly writes, of "obscure and indigent men." At Manchester, eight persons were apprehended on a charge of high treason, and eight at Leicester. The whole of the latter were convicted, and six suffered the last penalty of the law. On the 9th of June, an insurrection broke out in Derbyshire. It was headed by a man named John Brandreth; and, ere long, 500 men were assembled, who proceeded, in military array, to the Butterly iron-works, near Nottingham. On the road to the latter town, they were met by Mr. Rollaston, an intrepid magistrate of the county, with eighteen of the 15th Hussars, under Captain Phillipps, by whom they were stopped, pursued, and forty-five prisoners taken. Brandreth escaped at the time, but was soon after captured; and a special

commission having been sent down to Derby in autumn, he was capitally convicted, and suffered death, with Turner and Ludlam, his two associates; while eleven others were transported for life, and eight imprisoned for various periods.

But not yet had the danger passed away. Discontent was still rife, and government spies were hard at work. A second, and a still more alarming report was prepared, and laid before the House of Commons in June. It stated, that a plan of a general insurrection had been organised, which was to break out, in the first instance, in Manchester, on Sunday, 30th of March; and to be immediately followed by risings in York, Lancaster, Leicester, Nottingham, Chester, Stafford, and Glasgow. It was calculated that 50,000 persons would be ready to join them, in Manchester alone, by break of day; and with this immense force they were to march to attack the barracks and gaols, liberate the prisoners, plunder the houses of all the nobility and gentry, seize all the arms in the gunsmiths' shops, and issue proclamations, absolving the people from their allegiance, and establishing a republic. The outbreak in Derbyshire was a part of this design, which was only frustrated there, and elsewhere, by the vigilance and courage of the magistrates, and the prompt and steady action of the soldiery. This report answered its purpose. The House of Commons, by a majority of 190 to 50, continued the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act, till the 1st of March, 1818, when they finally expired.

A story is told of a lion, who, when seeing a picture in which a man is drawn killing one of his own species, remarked, that if the picture had been painted by a lion, the latter would have been drawn in the act of killing the man. Happily, in the case of the democracy of England at this time, we have not to trust entirely to the reports of paid spies before a frightened committee of the House of Commons. William Cobbett and Bamford gave us a good deal of the other side of the picture.

Bamford was an operative silk-weaver, in Middleton, Lancashire, and secretary of the Hampden club in that place—a club aiming exclusively at parliamentary reform. They sought manhood suffrage and annual parliaments by peaceful means. "It was not," writes Bamford, "until we became infested by spies, incendiaries, and their dupes—distracting, misleading, and betraying—that physical force was mentioned among us." The proceedings at these clubs were generally as follows:—"They would," writes Bamford, "generally be found in a large room, an elevated seat being placed for the chairman. On first opening the door the place seemed dimmed by a suffocating vapour of tobacco curling from the cups of long pipes, and issuing from the mouths of the smokers in clouds of abominable odour; like nothing in the world more than one of the unclean fogs of the streets, though the latter certainly were less offensive, and, probably, less hurtful. Every man would have his half-pint of porter before him; many would be speaking at once; and the hum and confusion would be such as to give an idea of there being more talkers than thinkers—more speakers than listeners. Presently order would be called, and a comparative silence would ensue: a speaker, stranger, or citizen would be announced with much courtesy and compliment. 'Hear, hear!' would follow, with clapping of hands, and knocking of knuckles on the tables, till all the half-pints danced. Then a speech, with compliments to some brother orator or popular statesman; next a resolution in favour of parliamentary reform, and a speech to second it: an amendment on some minor point would follow; then a seconding of that: a breach of order by some individual of warm temperament; half-a-dozen would rise to set him right; a dozen to put them right; and the vociferation and gesticulation would become loud and confounding." In such proceedings surely there was nothing very harmful; and if they became more threatening, it was in consequence of government spies and government proclamations. On one occasion, when the House of Commons refused to receive a petition from the people, Sir Samuel Romily spoke on its behalf, arguing that, at that time, members should be more than usually ready to listen to the complaints of the unrepresented. Unfortunately the House was of another



way of thinking; and then in the clubs, as well as elsewhere, there were foolish fellows; and thus it came to pass that the Manchester blanket meeting was held, at which it was resolved that thousands of men should march to London, each with a blanket strapped on his back, soldier-fashion, and a petition in his hand. On the 10th of March the meeting was held, and dispersed by cavalry, and twenty-nine persons, who were on the hustings, taken prisoners. Nothing daunted, several hundreds set out on their way, Bamford with the rest, to London. They were pursued by constables and yeomanry, and dispersed at Stockport, though not till several received sabre-wounds, and a looker-on had been shot. A few managed to get as far as Derby. There a man came to Bamford, proposing that, in consequence of the treatment which the blanketers had received, a Moscow of Manchester should take place that very night. The weaver and his friends dismissed him with the assurance that he was the dupe of some designing villains. A few days after, the magistrates acquainted ministers with a plot for the destruction of Manchester as the signal for a general insurrection. Several arrests were made. The reverend chairman of the bench of magistrates stated, that, on the trial of these men, "purposes of the blackest atrocity must be disclosed." Yet all the parties arrested were discharged, not merely without trial, but actually without having had an indictment preferred against them. Such were the atrocious acts by means of which the ministry of that day sought to arm themselves with despotic powers. It must be remembered, too, that these powers were granted before they had attempted to enforce those existing. In answer to Sir Samuel Romilly, who urged this very point in the House of Commons when the report of the secret committee was discussed, the Attorney-general admitted, that, till within a few days, he had not instituted a single prosecution. The secret report stated that the ministry required fresh powers, to suppress the dangers which the utmost vigilance of government, under the existing laws, had been found inadequate to prevent. Sir Samuel Romilly remarks on this—"Sir Anthony Piggott, a member of the committee, told me that he did not know that it was there; and the truth was, no evidence was laid before the committee of any vigilance exerted by government to execute the existing laws."

In London, the elder Watson was acquitted, after a seven days' trial. No sane jury could be got to believe the evidence given by the government informer, Castles. There was another wretch in their employ, named Oliver. It was clear that he was employed by government; that he went down to the country as a London delegate, and deceived and deluded the poor people there. These circumstances, and Oliver's constant communications with the authorities, were discovered, and published by Mr. Baines in his *Leeds Mercury*, and, subsequently, brought before the House of Commons. Sir Samuel Romilly declared, that he "believed, in his conscience, the whole of the Derbyshire insurrection was the work of persons sent by government." And we have Bamford's evidence that Oliver was busy in May and June, urging on the Lancashire people to take steps that would bring them within the meshes of the law. Lord Sidmouth was a humane man; but he stands convicted, in the burning language of Henry Brougham, as "the recorded dupe of the informer;" guilty of "a cheat in fact, and a murder in anticipation;" the victim "of one who went about to ensnare that he might betray, and to corrupt that he might destroy."

The government next pursued higher game. Weary of peasants and weavers, they began a crusade against the press. Cobbett wisely suspended his publications, and sailed for America; and the prosecution of Thomas Jonathan Wooler (the Black Dwarf of the Radical newspapers) broke down. A few years previously, the law officers of the crown succeeded in getting a verdict in their favour. The brothers Hunt, of the *Examiner*, were the objects of attack. They had written what Lord Ellenborough was pleased to term a foul, atrocious, and malignant libel. The libel purported to be a reply to some fulsome praises which appeared in the *Morning Post*, addressed to the prince; and was as follows:—"What person un-

acquainted with the true state of the case, would imagine, in reading these astounding verses, that this *glory of the people* was the subject of millions of shrugs and reproaches. That this *protector of the arts* had named a wretched foreigner his historical painter, in disparagement, or in ignorance, of the merits of his own countrymen. That this *Mæcenæ of the age* patronised not a single deserving writer. That this *breather of eloquence* could not say a few decent *extempore* words—if we are to judge, at least, from what he said to his regiment on its embarkation for Portugal. That this *conqueror of hearts* was the disappointment of hopes. That this *exciter of desires* (bravo Messrs. — of *Post*!), this *Adonis in loveliness*, was a corpulent gentleman of fifty. In short, that this *delightful, blissful, wise, pleasurable, honourable, virtuous, true, immortal* PRINCE was a violator of his word; a libertine, over head and years in debt and disgrace; a despoiser of domestic ties; the companion of gamblers and demireps; a man who had just closed half a century without a single claim on the gratitude of his country, or the respect of posterity.” For this libel the Hunts had each to pay £500, and to suffer an imprisonment, in separate prisons, of two years. In his valedictory address, Cobbett said—“Lord Sidmouth was sorry to say that I had not written anything the lawyers could prosecute with any chance of success. So that I could be sure of a trial, of whatever sort, I would have run the risk. But against the absolute power of imprisonment, without even a hearing, for time unlimited, in any gaol in the kingdom, without the use of pen, ink, and paper, and without communication with any soul but the keeper—against such a power it would have been worse than madness to attempt to strive.”

In London, at this time, was one little man who had the pluck which Cobbett lacked—a pluck which will render his name immortal in the annals of political trials. The name of this man was William Hone. After an imprisonment of some months, he was brought to trial in the Court of King’s Bench. We take the particulars of this celebrated event from a sketch supplied by Mr. Charles Knight, drawn and coloured, as we imagine, from personal observation. Mr. Knight says—

“On the morning of the 18th of December, there is a considerable crowd round the avenues of the Guildhall. An obscure bookseller—a man of no substance or respectability in worldly eyes—is to be tried for libel. He vends his wares in a little shop in the Old Bailey, where there are, strangely mingled, twopenny political pamphlets, and old harmless folios, that the poor bookseller keeps for his especial reading, as he sits in his dingy back-parlour. The door-keepers and officers of the court scarcely know what is going to happen, for the table within the bar has not the usual covering of crimson bags; but ever and anon, a dingy boy arrives with a handful of books, of all ages and sizes, and the whole table is strewn with dusty and tattered volumes, that the ushers are quite sure have no law within their mouldy covers. A middle-aged man—a bland and smiling man, with a half-sad and half-merry twinkle in his eye—a seedy man (to use an expressive word), whose black coat is wondrous brown and threadbare, takes his place at the table, and begins to turn over the books which are his heralds. The charge was, of having parodied the Catechism, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; ‘thereby bringing the Christian religion into contempt.’” But every one knew better—knew that Hone was prosecuted for political offences—that his crime was Radicalism, and that alone.

The case for the prosecution consisted mainly in reading the parodies complained of, to the intense amusement of all present. “Then,” says Mr. Knight, “the pale man in black rose, and, with faltering voice, set forth the difficulties he had in addressing the court; and how his poverty prevented him from obtaining counsel. And now he began to warm in his recital of what he thought his wrongs—his commitments—his hurried calls to plead—the expense of copies of information against him; and as Mr. Justice Abbott, with perfect gentleness, but with cold formality, interrupted him, the timid man, whom all thought would have mumbled forth a



hasty defence, grew bolder and bolder, and, in a short time, had possession of his audience, as if he were 'some well-graced actor, who was there to receive the tribute of popular admiration.' As to the charge of ridiculing the Christian religion, it was untrue. He was a Christian himself. He maintained there were two kinds of parodies; and in defence of his position, he read and spoke for six hours. The editor of *Blackwood's Magazine* was a parodist; he parodied a chapter of Ezekiel. Martin Luther was a parodist; he parodied the first Psalm. And so was Mr. Boys, Dean of Canterbury. The author of the *Rolliad* was a parodist; and so was Mr. Canning." The defence was as ingenious as it was successful. Mr. Hone obtained a verdict in his favour. Great was the consternation in the Tory camp. Happily, as they thought, they had yet the chances in their favour.

Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough—"the fiery Lord Chief Justice," as he is called—came down the next day to see justice done to the prosecution. This time the libel charged was a parody on the Church of England Litany. The same defence was pursued, in spite of the interruptions of the judge; and with like success.

One day more was given to the suppression of the poor insignificant bookseller. Again, the Lord Chief Justice, determined the verdict should be against the prisoner, took his seat rather as a prosecutor than as a presiding judge. With reference to other matters, Sir Samuel Romilly refers to the "strong and intemperate way" of speaking adopted by the Lord Chief Justice generally; and we may be sure, that on this last day of trial, poor Hone and the jury would have the benefit of all his roughness and insolence. Hone was still undaunted in body and in mind; refused the offer of postponement, and took his trial for the publication of *The Sinecurist's Creed*, a parody upon that of *St. Athanasius*. For eight hours he addressed the jury; rebuked the judge, and quoted church authorities against the Athanasian creed. "Even his lordship's father, the Bishop of Carlisle, took a similar view of the creed." Ellenborough could stand it no longer. "For common delicacy, forbear," he exclaimed. "Oh, my lord, I shall certainly forbear," replied Hone, who had scarcely need to "hope the jury would not be beseeched into a verdict of guilty." Hone again had triumphed, and was saved by a British jury from the malice of his persecutors. He gained more than he anticipated. The very next day, though a Sunday, Ellenborough wrote to Lord Sidmouth, expressing his wish to retire. Wilberforce eulogises "his love of good order, his vigorous understanding, his undaunted firmness; and so far as I know them, I am disposed to add, his sound constitutional principles." Others refer to him, as having "a frame of adamant, and a soul of fire." But the obscure, antiquarian bookseller had beaten him; and Lord Ellenborough did not long survive the disgrace.

Hone gained, as he deserved to do, an immense popularity by the trial; and a subscription was set on foot, to reimburse him for the expenses he had encountered, and the sufferings he had undergone. Nor did he often appear on the political stage, but devoted himself to the production of volumes full of quaint and illustrative matter. Mr. Knight speaks of him "as a man who, in the ordinary business of life, was incapable of enterprise and persevering exertion; who lived in the nooks and corners of his antiquarianism; who was one that even old political opponents came to regard as a gentle and innocuous hunter after all such reading as was never read; who, in a few years, gave up his politics altogether: and devoting himself to his old poetry, and his old divinity, passed a quarter of a century, after this conflict, in peace with all mankind, and died the sub-editor of a religious journal."

In 1818, the nation was in a more peaceful state: the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act was repealed, and a general bill of indemnity to ministers was carried, though not without vigorous opposition, on the part of the Liberals, in the House of Commons. Canning, who had joined the ministry on the death of Earl Buckinghamshire, as President of the Board of Control, had now become the

leader of the House; and it is sad to find how well he worked on the side of privilege and power.

It may be asked—what was Lord Palmerston doing all this while? The answer is—attending to the duties of his office, and speaking as little, and as seldom as was possible. In the House he did nothing but move the army estimates and the Mutiny Bill. It is clear—if Hansard may be relied on—that he gave no open support to the measures of repression deemed so necessary then, and so unnecessary now.

On the vote for the army estimates for 1818, Lord Althorp proposed to reduce the number of men by 5,000, urging the frightful distress prevalent in the country, and dwelling on the enormous disparity between income and outgoings; the expenditure for the year previous having been £65,000,000, while even the oppressive taxation had yielded only £51,000,000. In the course of Lord Palmerston's rejoinder, he said—

“I do not mean to uphold the principle that the increase of population renders a proportionate increase of our military force necessary, or that a numerous population ought to be governed by the edge of the sword. But I appeal to the experience of the last few years, whether an increased population, depending upon agriculture and commerce, may not, from particular circumstances—such as a change of season and want of employment—be worked upon in such a manner, and brought into such a state of fermentation, as to render life and property unsafe without the protection of a large military force? Most of the gentlemen present have seen a proof of this in the riots which took place on the subject of the corn-laws, about three years back, when a large military force was necessary to protect them from insult in their passage to and from this House.”

As might be expected, Lord Althorp's motion was lost. The only other occasions, during this session, in which Lord Palmerston addressed the House, save in the official performance of his duties, were on a somewhat meagre and unsatisfactory Copyright Bill, which he opposed; on the question of pensions to officers' widows; and on the claims of certain medical officers to share in the Waterloo prize-money, that most fertile source of discontent in the British army.

Just about this time, and for, we believe, the only time in his life, Lord Palmerston was in danger from an assassin. In the month of April, about one o'clock in the day, Lieutenant Davis, of the 62nd regiment of foot, went to the War Office, and inquired of his lordship's messenger if Lord Palmerston was in. The messenger replied that he was not, but that he was expected every moment; and the inquirer was invited to walk into the waiting-room, and write his name on the list of visitors, as is usual. Davis declined doing so; but waited about the lobby, frequently asking if his lordship would soon arrive. A little before two, Lord Palmerston came to the War Office, and was passing up the steps, when the messenger informed Lieutenant Davis that he was lucky, for his lordship had come, and there was no visitor before him. Davis followed the noble lord, and then hastily retreated down stairs with the pistol in his hand, calling out—“I have done for him.” He was immediately seized, and conveyed to Queen Square police-office. Mr. Astley Cooper soon arrived; examined his lordship's wound; and was enabled to report that it was not dangerous. The pistol had been loaded with ball, which had lacerated his lordship's right side; but did not lodge in the flesh. The prisoner, on being examined, proved to be a native of Wales, and formerly an officer in the West Middlesex militia. He had volunteered to join the militia corps which had offered their services for the army of Lord Wellington in the year 1814, and had, in consequence, obtained a lieutenantancy in the 62nd regiment, with which he had served for some time in Canada. Various circumstances were stated which proved the man to be of unsound mind. He had no motive whatever for making the attack, as his lordship had shown every disposition in his power to forward an application which Davis had made for a pension. He was given up to his friends; and, happily, no serious consequences resulted from his rash act. Before we pass



away to other and more important matter, let us add a few extracts from his lordship's speeches in defence of flogging in the army, and of the employment of foreign soldiers. His lordship argued—

“A foreign sovereign (William III.) was then on the throne, and the people were not then, as they now are, familiarised to the use of arms; the whole standing army being then not above 20,000 men. There then existed no war like the present, in which we see Bonaparte sending Spaniards into the north, Germans into Spain, and Poles to preserve the tranquillity of Italy. Is there, then, any serious ground for apprehension for the liberties of the country, when we know that the number of foreigners in our service is limited by law to the number of 16,000; and that of those the far larger proportion go abroad?”

Again, in reply to Lord Folkestone, he, with reference to the same subject, said—“If any man would look at the map of Europe, and see what a portion of its population the enemy had forced into hostility against this country; if he were also to consider the limited population of these two islands, and the extensive colonies we had to defend, and the navy we had to support, it appeared to him hardly possible that such a man could now adhere to the idea of not employing foreigners in our service. Looking at the present state of the world, and viewing the countless hosts that were arrayed against Great Britain, single-handed, it seemed to him the height of absurdity to make such an objection. Because of our having swept the seas of our enemy, and because our small but gallant armies had hitherto stood undaunted and unbroken before the overwhelming forces of France and all her dependent states, was it to be urged that we were, unaided and unsupported, capable of maintaining for ever so unequal a contest?”

Lord Palmerston thus expressed his opinion with reference to flogging in the army:—“I do not think it fair to argue from analogy against this mode of punishment. In foreign armies, where corporal punishment is not systematic, there exists what is still more degrading to man—a system of wanton and capricious ill-usage. Trials by court-martial are governed by the strict spirit of justice, and therefore cannot be said to overthrow the energies of the men. With respect to corporal punishment, it is not coeval with the present men, as has been stated, but has existed in all times when the military service has been called into action. With respect to promotions, an honourable baronet and a gallant general have stated some instances of privates being elevated to commissions. I shall state another fact. After the battle of Busaco, the commander-in-chief sent to Lord Wellington ten ensigns' commissions, as rewards for so many non-commissioned officers who had greatly distinguished themselves.”

The reader may be disappointed at finding Lord Palmerston a supporter of these acts of government to which we have referred in such terms of censure. We must remember that Canning and Peel also equally participated in them; and yet, in our time, it is admitted that they deserved well of their country, and that, in reality, they were the true friends of progress, so far as the public was ripe for it. Nothing is more unfair than to judge of a statesman of a past day by the light of the present. In their views, the Whigs were nearer the truth than the Tories; and yet a Whig administration was an utter impossibility, and could not—viewed, as it would have been, with aversion and distrust by the monarch and the public alike—have lasted a day. All these great men began life as Tories. Toryism was popular then. A majority of the middle classes were Tories. The genius of Pitt had won over to that side, as Sir Lawrence Peel has remarked, “a body of men naturally inclined at all times, but with moderation, to Whig principles. The horror inspired by the excesses of the French revolution had effected, for a time, a great change, and an unnatural heat in the mind of the middle rank of the English people.” England was rapidly outgrowing its institutions; a new and better spirit was moving on the surface of the political waters: a day was to come when Canning was to liberalise the foreign policy of England; when Peel was to abolish political and religious restrictions; when Palmerston was to help to carry a

noble measure of reform: but, in the meanwhile, they had to wait. The motto of the practical politician must be *Quieta non movere*; not to put new wine into old bottles. Of course, the great men we have named could have gone out of office. And what would have been the result? That their places would have been filled up with Tories, of the Eldon and Castlereagh school; and that we should have had acts of restriction more oppressive, and catastrophes more tragical, than those we have already recorded. Lord Palmerston began life as a Tory; he represented a Tory university; he served under a Tory leader. He may not be blamed, or sent to Coventry, for that; but he would have been richly to blame had he remained a Tory when the nation was growing liberal; had he become an obstructive while progress was the order of the day; had he idiotically tried to stop the rising tide, which swept away for ever Tories of the type of Lord Castlereagh, or Chancellor Eldon.

In England, the Alien Act was continued two years longer, on the ground that it was necessary to keep out, as well as send out of Great Britain, those persons who should avail themselves of their vicinity to France, to foster a spirit menacing to the security of our own and the other governments of Europe. Order in Ireland was effected independently of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, or of a bill for the suppression of seditious meetings. Ireland being wholly an agricultural country, suffered grievously from the disastrous fall of prices, produced by the scarcity of corn and coin. So serious were the agrarian disturbances in the country, that government brought forward a bill, which Sir A. Alison declares was attended with the very best effects. It was introduced by Mr. Peel, the Secretary for Ireland (afterwards Sir Robert Peel), to whose measures, in the course of our subsequent pages, we shall often have to refer. The object of the bill was to establish a general police force, capable of acting together in any country which the Lord-Lieutenant might determine; that officer having the power of directing what portion of the expense was to be laid on the inhabitants. The measure met with general approbation, and proved so efficacious, that government did not find it necessary to extend the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act to Ireland; and were able to reduce the military force in that country from 25,000 to 22,000 men, and the artillery from 400 to 200 guns.

The social condition of the country, and its general prosperity, were much improved in the year 1818. The change had begun in the middle of the preceding year, and arose chiefly from prices of agricultural produce having risen, and from the consequent improvement in the home market. The funds rose 30 per cent.; and the bankruptcies were less than those of the preceding year by 454. In England no change of great importance took place. Distress still prevailed in some of the midland and northern counties; and the operatives of Lancashire remained in a state of organised resistance to their masters. Several outbreaks occurred at Burnley, and another at Stockport—promptly suppressed, without bloodshed, by means of the Manchester yeomanry. How little the right way to create and maintain order in states was understood at this time, is evident from the fate which attended Mr. Brougham's motion in the Commons, for an address to the prince-regent, praying for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of education of the poor throughout England and Wales, and to report thereupon. On this address the previous motion was put and carried: and the same fate attended another proposal—that the commissioners should inquire into the abuses of charities not connected with education. Just at this time, let the reader remember, Foster, in his *Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance*, was describing the people (to use his own language), as “odiously and loathsomely vile, degraded, and depraved;” and only because people in power condemned all such efforts as those of Mr. Brougham, and preferred to rule by physical rather than moral force. The order created by the legislation of Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and Canning, was not of an enduring kind.

The real friends of order had, at this time, to deplore a heavy loss. Sir



Samuel Romilly—the humane and the philosophical, the enlightened champion of that knowledge and freedom, without which true order cannot exist—in a moment of insanity, occasioned by the death of a wife, to whom he was devotedly attached—committed suicide, just as he had been returned at the general election for Westminster, under the most gratifying circumstances. Even Sir A. Alison confesses, “he was eminently sincere and pious in his feelings, and humane in his disposition, almost to a fault. It was the strength of these feelings which led him to engage with such warmth, and prosecute with such perseverance, the reformation of the criminal code in England, and the extirpation of the many sanguinary enactments which disgraced its statute-book. Humanity owes him much, for having been the first to enter upon that glorious task.” He was, in the highest degree, amiable in his private life, and beloved alike by his friends and opponents. When Lord Eldon first beheld the vacant seat at the bar where Sir Samuel used to sit, he was so affected that he burst into tears, and broke up the court. A purer, nobler, loftier patriot than Romilly never lived.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### SEDITION AND CONSPIRACY.

IN the preceding chapter we have implied that order reigned in England. We have shown how that order was created. We have now to teach how unreal and hollow it was. Tacitus speaks of the tyrants who made a solitude, and called it peace. The order maintained by Lord Sidmouth was of a similar character. To feel one's wrongs, and demand one's rights, is every man's eternal and inalienable birthright. Fine, imprisonment, death, are powerless against it; cannot weaken or destroy it. It is true, in a barbarian state of society, the despotism of an Akbar, or a Charlemagne, or a Saint Louis, may be a benefit; but the England of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton, of Newton and Locke, was not in a state of barbarism, and was to be governed only by wisdom, and the might of tenderness and truth. Lord Sidmouth and his colleagues could not realise this fact; they trusted to harsh legislation and spies; to the exclusion of newspapers and books; to the prevention of public meetings; to the perpetuation of ignorance; and thus prolonged the disaffection and discontent they professed to deplore.

What the people of England demanded then, they have got now. The corn-laws have been repealed; taxes have been lightened; the press has been freed; the rotten boroughs have been swept away; Roman Catholics and dissenters have been admitted to the rights of citizenship; the benefits of education have been extended; and the laws have been ameliorated, and rendered more humane. Ministers are not afraid of the people now: they were then—as they had every reason to be. Nominally, the country was at peace: in reality, it was in a state of chronic discontent, which a spark might, at any instant, kindle into flame.

In 1819, a new parliament met in Westminster, and, very unwisely, imposed new taxes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, admitted that there was a deficiency in the revenue of the year to a very considerable extent. He proposed a tax of 1s. 2d. per bushel on malt, which he estimated would produce £1,400,000; by a tax on tobacco he expected £500,000; from one on coffee and cocoa, £130,000; from one on pepper, £30,000; from one on spirits distilled in England, £500,000; from one on tea, £130,000; and from a duty of 6d. per lb. on foreign imported wool, £500,000. He further submitted a plan for allowing individuals who chose to pay an immediate addition of 5 per cent., and in some

cases 10 per cent., on the assessed taxes, to be free from any increase for three years, whatever addition they might make during that period to their establishment. A loan was also to be raised, of £12,500,000. Poor Vansittart knew but little of finance. Most of the new taxes were resolutely opposed. It was insisted that they would press very heavily on the poorer classes of the community. Ministers did not see it; and a House of Commons, elected not to see it, was equally blind. Experience, however, had shown, that when new taxes were put on articles in general demand, they were invariably paid by the consumer: the articles were enhanced in price by the additional duty, and often a little more, on account of the increased capital the dealer was compelled to employ.

Out of doors, Radical reformers (many of them not the wisest of men) availed themselves of the prevailing discontent to further their own selfish or patriotic ends. Meetings of distressed operatives were held at Glasgow, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stockport, and elsewhere. Sir Charles Wolseley, a Staffordshire baronet, "an honest, but not very wise man," made his *débüt* at the Stockport meeting; and at the Chester assizes an indictment was found against him for the speech then delivered. At Manchester, and all the principal towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, meetings were held to appoint delegates to a great reform union, and to resolve to abstain, as much as possible, from the use of articles paying custom or excise duty. Female democratic clubs began to be established: all of a sudden, sedentary artisans took it into their heads to drill; and, as teachers, disbanded soldiers, or old militia-men, were in great request. Lord Sidmouth and the prince-regent were much alarmed; and the Manchester massacre was the result.

Orator Hunt was to hold a public meeting at Manchester; but it was forbidden by the county magistracy, Manchester at that time being, in the eye of the law, a village. The borough-reeve was then memorialised to call a town meeting on the subject of parliamentary reform. This he refused to do (and very wisely; for, with parliamentary reform, came the abolition of the borough-reeve of Manchester). Nevertheless, the people were determined to hold a meeting; and it was arranged to take place on Monday, August 16th, in St. Peter's Fields—a large tract of ground. The hustings were placed where now stands the Free-trade Hall; and Orator Hunt was there. The scene opened joyously enough. Mr. Archibald Prentice, an eye-witness, thus describes it:—"I saw the main body proceeding towards St. Peter's Fields, and never saw a gayer spectacle. There were haggard-looking men, certainly; but the majority were young persons in their best Sunday suits; and the light-coloured dresses of the cheerful, tidy-looking women, relieved the effect of the dark fustian worn by the men. The marching, of which so much was said afterwards, was what we often see now in the processions of Sunday-school children, and temperance societies. To our eyes, the numerous flags seemed to have been brought to add to the picturesque effect of the pageant. Our company laughed at the fears of the magistrates; and the remark was, that if the men intended mischief, they would not have brought their wives, their sisters, or their children with them. I passed round the outskirts of the meeting, and mingled with the groups that stood chattering there. I occasionally asked the women if they were not afraid to be there; and the usual laughing reply was—"What have we to be afraid of?" I saw Hunt arrive, and heard the shouts of the 60,000 persons by whom he was enthusiastically welcomed, as the carriage in which he stood made its way through the dense crowd to the hustings. I proceeded to my dwelling-house in Salford, intending to return in about an hour or so, to witness in what manner so large a meeting would separate. I had not been at home more than a quarter of an hour, when a wailing sound was heard from the main street; and, rushing out, I saw people running in the direction of Pendleton, their faces pale as death, and some with blood trickling down their cheeks. It was with difficulty I could get any one to stop and tell me what had happened. The unarmed multitude—men, women, and children—had been attacked, with murderous results, by the soldiery."



The carnage was great, and perfectly unnecessary. It appears that, late on the previous night, the magistrates had resolved to arrest Hunt and his friends in the midst of this immense mass of his followers. It seems as if the magistrates had resolved that bloodshed should ensue. They had ready six troops of hussars; a troop of horse artillery, and two guns; a regiment of infantry; three or four hundred of the Cheshire yeomanry, and forty of the Manchester—the latter “hot-headed young men, who had volunteered into the service from their intense hatred of Radicalism.” It was said the Riot Act was read; but it is clear the mob, or the greater part of them, knew nothing about it. Just as Hunt had commenced his speech, a body of yeomanry entered the field with drawn swords. Hunt called on those around him to stand firm, and receive them with three cordial cheers. This was done; but the yeomanry, having paused to breathe their horses and form their ranks, dashed through the crowd towards the hustings, where the commander told Mr. Hunt that he must consider himself their prisoner. He implored the people to be tranquil, and stated that he would willingly surrender to any civil officer who might produce a warrant. This was accordingly done, and Hunt was placed in custody. A few more prisoners were made. Had not the yeomanry made a dash at the flags, and created considerable confusion and alarm, all would have passed off quietly. In that confusion their own ranks were broken, and they were in danger from the just vengeance of the mob. The commander of the hussars says, at this moment he was called upon to act, and that he saw, at a glance, the yeomen were in the power of those whom they were designed to overawe. His troop was ordered to the rescue; and though they only used the backs of their sabres, fearful were the wounds they made. “People, yeomen, and constables,” says the officer, “in their attempts to escape, ran one over the other; so that, by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up at a considerable elevation above the level of the field.” The yeomen, cowardly and infuriated, completed the work of destruction; and, dashing in at every opening, struck right and left. Bamford, who was on the hustings, says—“Women, white-vested maids, and tender youth were indiscriminately sabred or trampled on. Few were the instances in which that forbearance was vouchsafed which they so earnestly implored. It did not take long to disperse the crowd. In ten minutes the field was an open and almost deserted space. The yeomanry had dismounted; some were easing their horses’ girths; others adjusting their accoutrements; and some wiping their sabres. Several mounds of human beings still remained where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered. Before night, eight men, two women, and a child were taken up dead or mortally injured; and the wounded, by hundreds, had fled or been carried home.”

The success of the friends of order had been complete. The magistrates were alarmed; and a private meeting of their supporters was got up, to thank them, in the name of the town; which was immediately met by the protest of 4,800 inhabitants. The government, of course, sided with the magistrates: but votes of censure, and demands for inquiry, were passed by great meetings in London, Westminster, Glasgow, York, Bristol, Nottingham, Norwich, Liverpool, and other large towns, and the county of York. To relieve the wounded, and defend the prisoners, a committee was formed at Manchester; and, attended by a deputation from London, they reported 560 cases of serious injury. In reality, the number was much greater. It is to the credit of the working-men that they suffered all this injury, and attempted to take no revenge.

The fears of the government were really quite uncalled for. A meeting had been held in London in July. The artillery and the cavalry, and the horse and foot-guards were called out; special constables were sworn in. At the Tower, the Bank, and the public offices, the usual guards were doubled. Preston, the shoemaker; Watson, recently tried for high treason; Hunt, and Harrison were there. They demanded universal suffrage, and claimed taxation and representation. At the close of the meeting, Harrison was arrested, and was quietly removed by the

constable—no resistance being offered by him or any of the spectators. Nothing could be clearer than the peaceful nature of the meetings, to repress which the government used such extraordinary powers.

Prosecutions were now the order of the day. Sir Francis Burdett had to pay a fine of £2,000 for a letter, written to his constituents, on the subject of the Manchester massacre; and Earl Fitzwilliam was dismissed from the lord-lieutenancy of the West Riding, for having taken part in the Yorkshire county meeting. The verdict of a coroner's inquest, which had sat nine times upon one of the sufferers, was quashed by the Court of Queen's Bench; and the Lancashire grand jury threw out the indictment preferred against the yeomanry. Hunt, and nine others, were tried at York the following year, for sedition. The former had two years' imprisonment; Mr. Harrison had eighteen months; and Sir Charles Wolsley the same, for harangues at Stockport and Ashton-under-Lyne. The corporation of London addressed the prince-regent. His answer was not very complimentary. "With the circumstances preceding the late meeting at Manchester," said his royal highness, "you must be unacquainted; and with those which attended it you appear to have been incorrectly informed."

The prince-regent and the ministry were not satisfied with administering such mild rebukes, or with trusting to the ordinary course of law. An extra meeting of parliament was held in November. "I regret," said the prince-regent, in his opening speech, "to have been under the necessity of calling you together at this period of the year; but the seditious practices so long prevalent in some of the manufacturing districts of the country, have been continued with increased activity since you were last assembled in parliament. They have led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the community; and a spirit is now fully manifested utterly hostile to the institutions of this kingdom; and aiming, not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this country, but at the subversion of the rights of property and of all order in society. I have given directions that the necessary information on this subject shall be laid before you. And I feel it to be my indispensable duty to press on your immediate attention the consideration of such measures as may be requisite for the counteraction and suppression of a system which, if not effectually checked, must bring confusion and ruin on the nation."

The next day the promised evidence was laid before the parliament. It consisted of the correspondence of the Home Secretary and official persons. The letters of the Manchester magistrates confessed the distress existing in that district. The grand jury of Cheshire expressed their alarm. Sir John Byng said numerous meetings were to have been held; but they did not take place, in consequence of the disunion among the leaders themselves. In some quarters attention was drawn to the drilling of the poor, then so prevalent; and, in other directions, much stress was laid on the manufacture of pistols, pikes, and weapons of war. Similar representations from the south-west of Scotland, where employment and wages had fallen off in a still more extraordinary degree, were also made. At any rate, the ministry laid before the House sufficient alarming matter to excuse and demand, as they thought, legislative enactments; and the results were, the notorious "*Six Acts*." They were—first, an Act to prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanor; the second, to obviate the training of persons to the use of arms, and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise; the third, for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels; the fourth, to authorise justices of the peace, in certain disturbed counties, to seize and detain arms collected and kept for purposes dangerous to the public peace; the fifth, to subject certain publications to the duties of stamps upon newspapers, and to make other regulations for restraining the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels; and the sixth, for more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies. The nature of these Acts is clear from their



titles. They were utterly destructive of liberty. They delivered up the country, bound hand and soul, to the oppressor. Canning, who must have known better, seems most recklessly to have supported every measure of government, and to have out-Heroded them in the cause of order. Wilberforce, who had previously said that the only fault to be found with the democrats, was "their laying, and causing the people to lay, so great a stress on the concerns of this world as to occupy their whole minds and hearts, and to leave a few scanty and lukewarm thoughts for the heavenly treasure"—now, though he "had no small reason to complain of some friends of the administration," thought it his "duty to come forward in support of the several measures which were proposed for the preservation of the public peace." The great unwashed had few friends. Had they been blacks, how eloquently Wilberforce would have pleaded their cause! In vain the Whigs and Radical members united to oppose the new restrictive measures: they were borne down by superior numbers. But Tierney and others did good service; and especially must we record, gratefully, the sarcasm and invective of Henry Brougham. The time, however, had not yet come to break up the solid phalanx of pensioners and placemen who flourished on government abuses. Not even did the mild attempts of Lord John Russell on parliamentary reform, at that time, gain much attention, or produce much effect.

The refusal of ministers to listen to the people, very nearly cost the former their lives. On the 5th of January, 1820, the Duke of Wellington wrote, that he had just heard that "Sidmouth had discovered another conspiracy." The duke here alludes to the Cato Street conspiracy.

Thistlewood, the head of this new conspiracy to murder his majesty's ministers, and throw the nation into confusion, had already, in 1817, taken his trial, with Watson, for high treason. He had served his country in a regiment of the line, in the West Indies; and having resigned his commission, spent some time in studying republican principles in America and France. After the acquittal of Watson, the Attorney-general declined to proceed, and Thistlewood was set free. Soon after this, he was silly enough to send a challenge to Lord Sidmouth; and, being prosecuted for this offence, was fined and imprisoned. Again at liberty, he seems to have been anxious to revenge the treatment he had received; and, with this aim in view, got around him a few desperate characters—butchers and shoemakers, and people in a very humble condition in life. The plot was so absurd and wicked, that we can scarcely believe that it would ever have been attempted to be carried out, had it not been for the fostering care of Edwards, the government spy and informer. Actors, it is said, must please to live: the same remark is applicable to government regarding spies. In all the troubles of these times, we can always trace the dirty work of the hired spy and informer. It is to be hoped that Sidmouth and Castlereagh paid their tools well.

On the 23rd of February, it was arranged that the plot should be carried out; Edwards having informed the conspirators, that, on the above day, a cabinet dinner was to take place at Lord Harrowby's, in Grosvenor Square. Forty or fifty of them engaged to assassinate the ministers, under a pledge of forfeiting their own lives if they failed through want of resolution. Other parties were, simultaneously, to seize the field-pieces in the Artillery-ground, and the London light-horse station in Gray's Inn Lane. Provided with cannon, they were then to take possession of the Mansion-house, which was to be the head-quarters of a provisional government. The Bank was to be secured; and to distract the attention of the authorities, several parts of the metropolis were to be fired. The place of rendezvous from which these infatuated wretches were to issue forth on their work of slaughter and rapine, was over a stable in Cato Street, in the Edgware Road.

Under the sanction of the government, the plot nearly reached maturity. Every care was taken to deceive and delude these contemptible conspirators. All the preparations for the cabinet dinner were continued. Nothing transpired that could lead Thistlewood and his friends for a moment to suspect that their inten-

tions were known; and they were just completing their preparations, when a party of policemen, under the direction of Mr. Birne, a Bow Street magistrate, appeared in Cato Street, where a detachment of Coldstream Guards had been ordered to support them. The police reached their destination about eight in the evening; ascended the ladder, and discovered the conspirators in the loft. In the *mêlée* which ensued, one of them was run through the body by Thistlewood, and fell. The candles were now blown out, and some attempted to escape. Thistlewood was not captured till the next day. In a little while, eleven of them were put upon their trial: one was pardoned; five were transported for life; and five, including Thistlewood himself, were sentenced to death. The execution was brutal and disgusting. The prisoners were first hung, and then decapitated. The horrible spectacle, witnessed by an immense crowd, lasted an hour and a quarter. The city was held by the military till the law was vindicated, and order restored.

Not even then did government succeed in winning the attachment, and securing the obedience, of the suffering poor. In vain Canning, with reckless flippancy, occasionally shocking (even Mr. Wilberforce), held them up to ridicule, as when he alluded to "the revered and ruptured Ogden:" in vain Lord Sidmouth devoted his time to the suppression of plots, which would never have existed had it not been for his well-paid, itinerating informers and spies: in vain parliament placed increased powers in the hands of government. Discontent was active as ever. It had been long smouldering; and now, we are told by an historian, broke out in a very contemptuous manner. A treasonable proclamation was discovered posted on the walls of Glasgow and Paisley, and the surrounding villages; and great was the panic in consequence. At Bonnymuir, an attack was made on the soldiery, who, however, succeeded in capturing nineteen persons, and wounding many more.

In the discussions which ensued, Lord Palmerston was compelled to take a part. The ministry had been blamed for enrolling a large additional number of veterans or pensioners. Upon Palmerston naturally fell the duty of expounding and defending the course adopted. "He had been blamed," he said, "on a former occasion, for not entering more at large into the reasons which had induced ministers to think this addition to the force of the kingdom necessary. He could only repeat now what he had said before—that the reasons for this increase of force were so notorious to every person in the country, that he should consider any attempt on his part to argue the necessity, not only a waste of the time of the House, but as trifling with the public understanding. If the justification of this measure were not sufficiently established by the events which had taken place since August last [the month of the Manchester tragedy], he was certain that no argument he could use, and no eloquence ever heard within these walls, would carry conviction with it."

The same subject was again brought forward, in connection with a proposal by Lord Nugent to reduce the army by 15,000 men. On this second occasion Palmerston went much more deeply and elaborately into the constitutional question involved:—"With respect to calling out the veterans, the noble lord considered it to be a violation of the constitution. If, however, he looked back to the constitution of this country, he would find many instances in which an augmentation had been made in time of peace, under an apprehension of approaching war, or of internal commotion. \* \* \* \* Many instances had occurred, in time of peace, where an augmentation of the military force had been effected, without any bill of indemnity, or any measure of the kind mentioned by the noble lord being deemed necessary. He admitted the argument of the noble lord, that no force could be constitutionally embodied without the consent of parliament; but that consent, he contended, had been obtained. In the speech from the throne, the intention of calling out this additional force was mentioned; and both houses of parliament, in their answer to the speech, plainly adverted to the circumstance. If, therefore, gentlemen conceived this proceeding to be unconstitutional, they would find it difficult to answer their country satisfactorily for having suffered so many months



to elapse without having agitated the question. But not only was the circumstance mentioned in the speech from the throne, and in the address in answer to it, but a specific vote of money was agreed to for the subsistence of those troops."

The following sentences contain the ministerial defence and apology:—"The noble lord would ask, 'Is it necessary now to keep up this additional force?' In answer to that, he would only ask gentlemen to turn their attention to the events that had passed since the period to which he had referred. He would forbear from adverting to the conspiracy that was discovered in London. A conspiracy to destroy some hundreds of individuals—to burn different parts of the metropolis—and to create a provisional government—was, it appeared, a matter of no importance to the gentlemen opposite. Did not the noble lord know that special commissions were issued for the north of England, and for Scotland, to bring persons to trial for the highest crime the law of this country contemplated—the crime of high treason? Did he not know that the scenes which gave rise to these commissions took place in February and March last? Did not the noble lord know that meetings of armed men had taken place in Scotland? Was he not aware that, in one instance, a body of these men had acted in hostility to the regular troops? Had he not seen the proclamation that was posted up in the town of Glasgow, purporting to be issued by a provisional government—the object of those signing it being, as they stated, 'to obtain their rights by force of arms?'"

The concluding sentences of this speech contained the following effective upbraiding of the opposition:—"The noble lord said he had watched with jealousy the strides towards a military despotism that had been made of late years. He would say that, if there were any set of men who could drive them to a military despotism, it was those self-called but misled reformers, who demanded that sort of reform in the country which, according to every just principle of government, must end, if it were acceded to, in a military despotism. It was said that government met with the sword the complaints of the people. This was not the fact; they only met with the sword those who endeavoured to stir up and to take advantage of those irritated feelings which were the offspring of distress. The use of that military force was to keep down those outrages which had the worst effect on the prosperity of the country. Perhaps the noble lord thought it was immaterial to the industry and welfare of the country to be on the verge of a civil war? Those who knew the extent of these outrages would agree with him, whatever the noble lord might think, that any measure which tended to preserve the peace of the country, tended also to maintain its prosperity. The veterans had not been called out unconstitutionally, but to defend, from the machinations of traitors, those liberties which they had derived from their forefathers, and which, he hoped, they would transmit, unimpaired, to their children."

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE ROYAL FAMILY.

DEATH, Horace tells us, attacks, with equal step, the cottage of the poor and the palace of the prince. In the royal family of England, at this time, there was an unusual mortality. The grave had not long closed over all that was mortal of the Princess Charlotte, than Queen Charlotte, the wife of George III., died, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Though she could lay no claim to beauty, she was, we are told, not deficient in those accomplishments which add grace and dignity to an exalted station. As a wife and mother, she was a pattern to her sex.

The death of the Princess Charlotte had caused a good deal of marrying in the royal family. George III. had been the husband of two wives. When Prince of Wales, he ran off with Hannah Lightfoot, a Quakeress, and had children by her. It is said he was married to her at Kew, by Dr. Wilmot, in the presence of the elder Pitt. He took good care that his sons should not imitate his example; and, for this purpose, he got parliament to sanction a law to prevent members of the royal family marrying subjects without the sanction of the reigning sovereign.

The result was, that the immoralities of his numerous sons were flagrant and outrageous, and that their marriages were mostly unhappy ones. The Duke of Sussex had married, but without the royal consent. The Duke of York was separated from his wife, as the prince-regent was from his. It was resolved, in 1818, that the Dukes of Kent, Cambridge, and Clarence should marry, as well as the Princess Elizabeth, then in her forty-eighth year. And the same parliament was asked for a grant to the Duke of Cumberland, who had married three years previously. The dotation to the latter was refused at once; and that to the Duke of Clarence, much to his annoyance, was very considerably reduced. Of all those marriages, that of the Duke of Kent was alone popular. He died January, 1820, after a short illness, in the fifty-third year of his age, leaving behind him an infant daughter—Alexandrina Victoria, our gracious queen, whom God preserve—

“ Long to reign over us,  
Happy and glorious.”

In a week after the death of the duke, his poor, blind, widowed, insane father, George III., died, aged eighty-two, and in the sixtieth year of his reign. Over the last few years of his life an awful veil had been drawn.

The prince-regent now became George IV.; and there came a great scandal all over the land. “The arrival of the queen,” writes Wilberforce’s biographers, “soon introduced a new and fearful strife amidst the subsiding waves of civil strife.”

On the 8th of April, 1795, the Prince of Wales was married to the Princess Caroline, of Brunswick. It was generally understood that, in forming this connection, his royal highness was influenced by the promise of an ample provision for the discharge of his debts, which, at that time, were very great; and this is the more probable, as his attachment to Mrs. Fitzherbert, to whom, it was believed, he was privately married, was well known.

In a few months the newly-married couple had separated. George IV. was not the man to be faithful to any woman long; and the princess never could have been a congenial mate for him. If she was not insane, she was certainly a little odd. From the *Diaries of a Lady of Quality*, just published, it is certain that a suspicion of insanity attached to the princess at this period. In her youth, “there were persons appointed to watch that she did not give notes, &c., &c.; but it was supposed that she always found means to elude their vigilance.” Lord Redesdale is the authority for the following anecdote:—“Having been invited to dine with the Duchess of Brunswick, at Blackheath, he and Lady Redesdale, coming at the time specified, found themselves long before the rest of the company. They passed half an hour, *en tiers*, with the duchess, who, having known him from his earliest youth, began talking very confidentially and imprudently of the misconduct of her daughter; and ended with saying, ‘But her excuse is, that, poor thing, she is not right here.’ She struck her forehead, and burst into a violent flood of tears.” Another story, from the same source, is certainly suggestive of eccentricity, at the least. “When the princess was at Baden, the grand duke made a *partie de chasse* for her: she appeared on horseback with a half pumpkin on her head. Upon the grand duke expressing astonishment, and recommending a *coiffure* rather less extraordinary, she replied, that ‘the weather was hot, and nothing could keep her head so cool and comfortable as a pumpkin.’” It is argued, on behalf of the free and easy manners, of the princess, that she had been brought up in a free and unrestrained manner; that her father’s residence was a palace of revels—a court of high romps,



where everybody was frank and equal, and licensed for gaiety and frolic; where they used to play at proverbs and lively forfeits of all sorts, in merry groups, like people at a fashionable *café*. To some, however, the princess was attractive. Sir Walter Scott was enthusiastic in her praise; and we know that, at her residence, Mr. Canning, as well as Lord Palmerston, were frequent guests. Lord Malmesbury assures us that she had a pretty face, fine eyes, good hands, tolerable teeth: and intimates that, though her expression was not very soft, nor her figure very graceful, that she had a good bust, and *des epaules impertinentes*. But the princess, if not a little flighty, wanted tact—a requisite indispensable in her royal position. She had no dignity. Her education had been, as regards decorum, much neglected. Indeed, it is clear that she was about the worst person that could be selected for the rôle she had to play in the tragi-comedy of life.

The fates were against her from the very first. The paramours of the prince took care that she should never have a chance. The poor princess, the moment she saw the prince and Lady Jersey together, realised her fate. “Oh, mine God!” she used to exclaim, in her own earnest way, “I could be the slave of a man I love; but to one whom I loved not, and who loved not me, impossible; *c’est autre chose*.” And how did the first gentleman of the age behave to the girl who had left her happy home, trusting in his tenderness and truth. The accounts given by Lord Malmesbury and Lady Charlotte Bury are almost incredible. Think of a gentleman, with an oath, turning away from the lady to whom he is betrothed, and calling for a glass of brandy—who had already intimated to Lord Eldon, that “he was not the sort of person to let his hair grow under his wig to please his wife”—who had spoken of his approaching marriage, as “buying a pig in a poke.” “Judge,” to use the language of the princess herself, “what it was to have a drunken husband on one’s wedding-day; and one who passed the greater part of the bridal night under the grate, where he fell, and where I left him.” How could the princess love, honour, and obey such a lord. From such a marriage there could be but one result. It was easy to predict the end.

The royal pair separated: the husband to pursue his amours; the lady into an honourable confinement at Blackheath, where informers watched and waited, trusting and hoping something would occur; that the princess, with her free and unguarded nature, might say or do that which would give her enemy occasion to rejoice.

In 1805, when the royal pair had been living for some time apart, the Duke of Sussex informed the prince, that Sir John Douglas had made known to him several circumstances respecting the behaviour of the princess, which might, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of mind of his royal highness, but also the succession to the throne. Sir John and Lady Douglas having made a formal declaration of the charges they thought proper to advance against the Princess of Wales, this declaration was submitted by the prince to Lord Thurlow, who gave it as his opinion that the matter must be referred to the king. The next step was to appoint a commission to examine Lady Douglas and her husband. On oath, her ladyship swore that the princess was pregnant; that she was delivered of a child; and that it was then living with her. That evidence the commission declared disproved. An intolerable wrong had been done to the princess. Lady Douglas had been simply infamous; and her husband had aided her in her infamy and shame. But the forsaken wife had no friends; and to slander her was the way to win the favour of the prince.

It is curious how much the hoax, played upon the credulity of Lady Douglas, appears to have resembled the trick the princess, when a girl of sixteen, practised upon her parents. Lady Douglas says, not only had she observed the pregnancy of her royal highness, but that the latter had made not the least scruple of talking it over with her, and of describing the stratagems she meant to resort to in order to avoid detection. It appears, says Lady Charlotte Winn, that at Brunswick there was a grand Court ball, at which the princess was not allowed to appear.

She had her revenge. She painted her cheeks deadly pale; got into bed, and gave the alarm. All the palace was in perplexity: hurrying from the Court ball, in Court dresses, the grand duke and duchess rushed, agitated and in terror, to her side. “Send for the *accoucheur*; I am in labour!” shrieked out the princess, to the utter amazement of all around her. The girl’s boisterous laughter soon revealed the hoax. We cannot help thinking, that the credulity of Lady Douglas suggested to the mind of the princess, to attempt to do, at Blackheath, what she had done previously at Brunswick. Perhaps an additional zest was given to the affair from the knowledge how lying tongues would carry it to the prince; and how it would grieve his kindly heart, that the wife of his bosom—the woman who had left her country and her home for him—the woman whom he had sworn on the altar to cherish and protect, had gone astray.

The commission drew up a report exonerating the princess of the very serious offence; but charging her with indiscretion.

This report had a very narrow chance of premature publication. The committee were Whig lords. The Whigs were the prince’s friends; and fully expected office on his accession to power. This feeling was general all over the country. When the late Duke of Wellington returned from India to England, in 1805, he thus wrote to his brother, the Governor-general of India, on political affairs:—“Lord Grenville has been out of town ever since I arrived in England; but I went to Stowe, on my way to Cheltenham, where I underwent a bore for two days. Bucky is very anxious that you should join the opposition. He urged that, to join the opposition was the best political game of the day; and his notion was founded upon the difference of the age of the king and the Prince of Wales.” The ministry of the time was a Tory one, with Perceval for leader; who was the principal adviser of the princess when the report appeared. He collected the evidence, and all the other documents which constituted that digest of royal scandal known as *The Book*, and got it printed. Canning strongly condemned the step, and returned immediately the copy sent, intimating, that with such a publication he would have nothing to do whatever. Perceval’s political game, by the publication of his book, was the disgrace of his opponents, and the renewal of his own lease of power. It was scarcely printed when a change of administration took place; and it became necessary to suppress the publication. Perceval, going out in a hurry, left a copy on the table; which was stolen; and cost him, says Lady Hester Stanhope, £10,000 to get it back again. The editor of a Sunday paper, who had, by some means, obtained another copy, issued a mysterious notice of his intention to publish it; and was stopped by an injunction: but afterwards assured his friends that he had compromised the matter for £1,000. A copy got into the hands of another person connected with the press, who gave it up on payment, so it is said, of £5,000. Such was the desire to retrace a false step; but a step, by means of which Mr. Perceval trusted effectually to damage, in the eyes of the country, the Whig party in general, and the four Whig lords who were on the commission, in particular.

The princess acted as any woman would have done under similar circumstances. She addressed the king, asserting her innocence on all the matters referred to, and asking that she might have authenticated copies of the report, and of the declarations and depositions on which it proceeded. Having received those papers, the princess submitted them to her legal advisers, Lord Eldon, Perceval, and Sir Thomas Plumer; and transmitted to his majesty an elaborate letter on the subject. Nine weeks having elapsed without any reply, the princess again wrote, expressing her anxiety to learn whether she might again be admitted to the royal presence: in reply to which, she was informed, that her vindication had been referred to his majesty’s confidential servants, who had given it as their opinion that it was no longer necessary for his majesty to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence; but that he hoped, in future, such a conduct would be observed by her as might fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which the



king always wished to show to every part of the royal family. The princess, on the receipt of this communication, named a day on which, if agreeable to his majesty, she would have the happiness to throw herself, in filial duty and affection, at his feet. The good old king, as his admirers loved to term him, refused to receive the forsaken and slandered woman whose innocence he had admitted, and who had appealed to him in her hour of distress. Surely posterity will cry shame on George III. for this.

Again and again did the princess appeal for justice and pity to the king. At length some concession was made in her favour, even as the widow gained her prayer from the august judge. When Perceval and his friends came into office, a minute of council was made, wherein it was humbly submitted to his majesty, that it was essentially necessary, in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interest of his majesty's illustrious family, that the Princess of Wales should be admitted into his presence, and be received in a manner due to her rank and station. Notwithstanding this advice, it does not appear that she was ever restored to complete favour; and her intercourse with her daughter, also, became subject to much restraint.

In January, 1813, the princess was so much debarred of the society of her daughter, that she determined to write to the prince-regent on the subject. In this letter, which was transmitted to ministers, she dwelt with great force upon the injustice of widening the separation between mother and daughter; which she considered as not only cutting her off from one of the few domestic enjoyments which she still retained, but as countenancing those calumnious reports which had been proved to be unfounded. This letter produced some effect. The prince-regent directed that the whole of the documents referring to "the delicate investigation of 1806," as it was inappropriately called, should be referred to the Privy Council, to report whether the intercourse between the princess and her daughter should continue under restriction. The Privy Council decided against the princess.

As a *dernier resort*, in 1813, the princess appealed to parliament. Assailed by a secret tribunal, before which she could not be heard in her own defence, she was compelled to throw herself upon the House, and to require that the fullest investigation should be made into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country. Mr. C. Johnstone moved for an address to the prince-regent, asking for a copy of the report of 1806, with a view to an inquiry into all the circumstances of the case while the witnesses were living. Lord Castlereagh, in opposing the motion, said, such a proceeding would be quite unnecessary to remove any apprehension as to the succession to the throne. The innocence of the Princess of Wales had been established on the report of the members of two successive administrations; and if a prosecution had not been directed against the accusers, it arose only from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public. It behoves us to add that the document called for was not produced; that the princess was declared free from imputations; and that addresses of congratulation poured in upon her from all quarters of the kingdom.

We have seen how the good old king acted to the princess. The next insult was to be from the queen. In 1814, as we have already stated, the allied sovereigns visited England. A short time before their arrival, the princess received a letter from the queen, acquainting her that, in a communication from her son, the prince-regent, he stated that her majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considered his own presence at her Court indispensable; and that he desired it might be distinctly understood (for reasons of which he alone could be the judge) to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, whether in public or private. The princess next addressed a letter to the prince, demanding to know what circumstances could justify the proceedings he had thus thought fit to adopt. She had been declared innocent, and would not

be treated as guilty. Her royal highness also addressed a letter to the Speaker, inclosing, for the information of the House, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion. In the course of the debate which ensued, Lord Castlereagh adverted to a fact, not before generally known—namely, that there was in existence an instrument, dated in the year 1809, signed by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and approved by his majesty; and to which his signature, as well as that of a large proportion of the ministers of the time was applied, which provided for a distinct establishment for the princess, and admitted the fact of the separation.

In the same year, the persecuted princess went to reside abroad. She stayed away six years. English ministers at foreign Courts were instructed not to recognise the princess; and if in any Court a public reception was given her, the British ambassadors were to absent themselves. During this foreign residence, rumours as to her conduct reached England. It was stated that she was living in a state of adultery, with an individual whom she had rapidly raised from the obscure situation of her courier to that of the first post in her household. In 1818, Mr. Cooke, a gentleman in an extensive practice at the Chancery bar, and Mr. Powell, an eminent solicitor, were despatched on a secret mission to Germany, to make inquiries and collect evidence relative to the princess's conduct. Of course the inquiry was a secret one. This was the celebrated Milan commission. Sir John Leach, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and first law adviser, got much obloquy by it. It was said that he went over to Italy himself to forward the project. That he went there at the time, is certain; and, quite by accident, happened to go to Milan. The disgrace of this dirty transaction does not attach to the cabinet. Lord Palmerston knew nothing of it. The deed was done by Sir John Leach, and Lords Eldon and Liverpool.

The death of King George III. made, of course, the princess queen. Now came the tug of war. Under the date of April 27th, 1820, Wilberforce writes—"The Vice-Chancellor Leach has been trying to root out the ministry; he has been telling the king that his present ministers are not standing by him; that he ought to have a divorce. There has been a flirtation between Tierney and the king." The queen had refused all offers of compromise; and arrived in London in June—"Crowds greeting her," writes Wilberforce. "She approaches wisely, because boldly: fixes at Alderman Wood's: Brougham with her"—Brougham, her chief law adviser, who was to win, from her defence, a world-wide renown.

The king lost no time in communicating to both houses of parliament the result of the Milan inquiry. The queen was equally active. Her case is stated in the following letter, read to the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham:—

"The queen thinks it necessary to inform the House of Commons that she has been induced to return to this country in consequence of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace, for some time, by secret agents abroad; and lately sanctioned by the government at home. In adopting this course, her majesty has had no other purpose whatever but the defence of her character, and the maintenance of those just rights which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support.

"Upon her arrival, the queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to parliament, requiring their attention to written documents; and she learns, with still greater astonishment, that there is no intention of proposing that these should be referred to a secret committee. It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were made against her majesty. Then, and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to meet the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now, also, desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her—a privilege not denied to the meanest subject in the realm. In the face of the sovereign, the parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents privately prepared by her



adversaries, as a proceeding unknown by the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies, with full confidence, upon the integrity of the House of Commons for defeating the only attempt she has reason to fear.

"The queen cannot forbear to add, that even before any proceedings were resolved upon, she had been treated in a manner well calculated to prejudice her case. The omission of her name in the Liturgy; the withholding the means of conveyance usually afforded to all the branches of the royal family; the refusal even of an answer to her application for a place of residence in the royal mansions; and the studied slight of the English ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence, must be received as measures designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction."

Into the quarrel now commenced Wilberforce plunged as a mediator. Negotiations were entered into again and again, without success. All England sided with the queen. They admired her spirit; and they all knew how infamously she had been used. Addresses to her majesty came pouring in from the city of London, followed by other cities, towns, corporations, villages, guilds, and associated bodies. The Italian witnesses to the queen's guilt were in fear of their lives. The ministry and their friends dreaded the 17th of August, when the trial of the queen was to commence. "I go up," wrote Wilberforce, "to try if I can prevent the inquiry. Yet I feel deeply the evil, that so bad a woman as I fear she is, should carry the victory by sheer impudence (if she is guilty), and assume the part of a person deeply injured." Again, we take another extract from the *Diary*—"Lord Castlereagh appears even more impressed with the danger than Lord Liverpool himself." Not only the "political dissenters," as Wilberforce termed them, prayed for the queen by name, but even the Wesleyan Methodists did so: "and thus this exclusion is," writes Wilberforce, "a most unhappy circumstance, because it has been the means of introducing a political feeling into the church." It was only in the prayer for "all that are desolate and oppressed," as Mr. Denman beautifully remarked, was it permitted to churchmen to remember their injured queen.

The trial, as we have stated, commenced August 17th, on the second reading of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, in the House of Lords. Such an event had never occurred before in English history; and, it is to be hoped, may never occur again. Day after day the House was crowded in every part, the queen herself being present; while tale after tale, of revolting indecency as to her conduct, was repeated by the witnesses, who generally broke down under the searching cross-examination of her counsel; and the answer of one Majocchi—*non mi ricordo*—became a popular by-word. On the 8th of September the examinations were concluded; and then the queen's counsel asked for, and obtained, an adjournment to the 3rd of October. Another month was consumed by the speeches of Messrs. Brougham, Denman, and Lushington; the examination of witnesses for the defence; and the replies of Sir B. Gifford and Sir John Copley. On the 6th of November, the division on the second reading was taken, and showed a majority of only twenty-eight. Four days later, on the third reading, the majority had dwindled down to nine. The ministers had no alternative now but to abandon the bill. After the merited failure of this measure, the Marquis of Tavistock moved, in the House of Commons, for a vote of censure upon the ministers. Their conduct was commonly censured in private, even amongst their own supporters. They stood, in a manner, self-condemned; for it was known that, originally, they had been adverse to the proceedings against the queen, and had yielded to a mind which they should rather have directed to wiser conduct. The only member of the cabinet who stood out to the last against Lord Liverpool's proposal to relinquish the prosecution, was Lord Eldon. His lordship always adopted this course; and thought all the better of himself for his foolish obstinacy.

The result of the trial rejoiced the public, who considered the conduct of the

king as unmanly and degrading; and who sympathised with the gallant spirit with which the queen refused all overtures of peace, and wrestled, under every disadvantage, for her rights. On her daily progress, the princess was cheered and sustained by the honest mob, who had no party interests to serve; who saw, in the woman before them, one who had suffered the most terrible of all wrongs—who, for no offence, had been turned out of her husband's house, and her daughter taken from her; who was forced into banishment as it were; had been denied even the poor consolation which the public recognition of her title as queen would have given her; and who, if she had done wrong, might retort it upon him who made her do it; who had dragged her from her home; forced her from society; pointed at her the finger of scorn; and had cast her, forsaken, betrayed, with a heart bruised and broken, reckless and desolate, on the wide world alone.

London cheered as it heard the result of the queen's trial; joyful messengers carried the glad tidings all over the land. Wilberforce was at Bath, and tells us how he saw "the early coaches from London come in, men and horses covered with white favours," in consequence; and so it was in all the great towns of the empire. "On the evening of the day," writes a cotemporary historian, "on which the bill was left to its fate, as well as on the following Saturday and Monday, illuminations took place in all parts of the metropolis, and the demonstrations of joy, exultation, and triumph were, on those nights, as strongly exhibited as on any occasion of public rejoicing. In most parts of the kingdom similar scenes took place, and congratulatory addresses were abundantly voted to her majesty from various corporations, fraternities, and public bodies, who, for a lengthened period, filled the approaches to Brandenburg House with all the pageantry of procession on the days appointed for their reception by the queen." Wilberforce has a sneer at Lady Fitzwilliam and the Duchess of Somerset congratulating her majesty on her honourable acquittal; but we are not sure that sneer is altogether deserved. The poet complains, that—

"Every wrong a tear can claim,  
Except an erring sister's shame."

If her majesty had done wrong, surely she had received punishment enough. But her accuser did not come into court with clean hands; and it speaks well for England, that some of her highest-born ladies, in spite of the royal favour, could join in the sympathy which, in the middle and lower ranks of life, ran strongly and disinterestedly in favour of England's injured queen.

The gigantic efforts of Mr. Brougham at this crisis are almost incredible, and did equal honour to his head and heart. In this cause it seemed as if he had everything at stake. His whole mind and soul were embarked in it. He appeared for the time like a man inspired, carried out of himself, and sustained, by the strength of a mighty purpose, under difficulties which would have crushed even the physical energies of a man less powerful in intellect, and less devoted in aim. His speeches in connection with this subject would fill a volume: they touched and fired men's hearts, as well as convinced their understanding. At this distance of time even, they are a magnificent addition to our oratorical literature.

"Probably," says a writer in the *Annual Register*, "for that year, no measure was ever introduced into parliament on the success of which the crown took a deeper interest than in that of the bill for the degradation of the queen. It was a measure, too, in behalf of which many sound reasons might be urged; for it was much less difficult to assign grounds for believing her majesty guilty, than to find out pretexts for saying that she was innocent. Yet, in spite of all the royal influence—in spite of the strong case which ministers made out—in spite of the aid which they derived from some of the ablest members of the opposition, they were, notwithstanding, obliged to yield to the general clamour, and to abandon their measure. Such a result, whether it was wise or unwise, just or unjust, in this particular case, ought, at least, always to be recollected as a noble proof of the



independence of our aristocracy. Our nobles disregarded the displeasure of the crown, and chose rather to yield to the current of popular prejudice, thinking that the most effective mode of reducing her majesty to insignificance, was to abstain from all measures against her. There was one circumstance of a nature not openly to be avowed in debate, but which had great weight with many of the peers. They felt convinced that the measure would not be passed by the Commons, and they opposed it for that reason. Since it was not to pass finally, the sooner it was stopped in its progress the better. Whether it would have received the sanction of the lower house, had it been permitted to proceed so far, it is not easy to divine; but it is obvious that the difficulties of the inquiry, felt to be considerable in the Lords, would have been increased a thousand-fold in the Commons. That House could not examine witnesses on oath; it could not have the benefit of the opinion of the judges; the advocates on both sides were members; so that what they could not do or say in one capacity, they could in another. It is impossible to guess what course the inquiry would have taken there, or how it would have been conducted, or to what extent it might have been spun out." In other quarters a similar suspicion was entertained. In a letter from Bath, Wilberforce writes—"Seriously (for, indeed, it is a very serious subject), the matter has ended—if ended it is, which, I fear, is not the case—better far than if the bill had gone down to our House. Without exaggeration, it would have occupied just as long as the queen's partisans were disposed to think it for her interest that we should be so employed; and one entire session would certainly not have sufficed; for we have no judges to whom doubtful questions of evidence might be referred, or even ex-chancellors, whose judgment is allowed to decide as to admissible or inadmissible papers or questions: instead of which, every individual member among us thinks himself as well able to decide on these points as the first lawyers in the land."

So far the queen had triumphed, and she determined to make the most of her victory. In a few days after ministers abandoned the bill, she went in state to St. Paul's cathedral, to return publicly her thanks. A numerous cavalcade of horsemen, headed by Sir Robert Wilson, led the way. The crowd was so great that it was with the utmost difficulty her carriage could move along. The applause was loud and long; but no accident marred the day's proceedings. The officiating clergyman made no allusion to her presence (she was not the head of the church, and the dispenser of its patronage). We hear no more of the queen till the opening of parliament, in 1821. A great effort was made to restore her majesty's name to the Liturgy; but the ministry, or, rather, their sovereign, would not give way. In the course of the numerous discussions which ensued, Mr. Brougham, in allusion to his assertion, on a former period, that the queen was not degraded by her omission from the Liturgy, said—"It was not for me, at that time, to declare that my royal mistress was degraded, when she had to meet all the terrors of the threatened investigation. I say the terrors of the investigation; not that innocence should be exposed to danger from injustice or iniquity; but her majesty was on the brink of an investigation in which innocence was no security—in which she was to be met by perjured men, and by perjured women; by bribing men, and bribing women; where the long arm of power, and the long purse of an administration, stretched their influence over Italian hearts and Italian hands; over hearts ready to crouch to the one, over hands ready to grasp at the other. From such trial, from such a threatened prosecution, the most guiltless might shrink, without incurring for a moment the imputation of crime. The queen," said Mr. Brougham, "has been acquitted; she must be treated as if she had never been tried, or there is no justice in England." It is unnecessary to add, that the orator pleaded in vain.

The next occasion of a debate was on the subject of a provision for her majesty. The ministry had come to a resolution to propose, in the House of Commons, that his majesty should be enabled to grant, out of the consolidated

fund, an annual sum not exceeding £50,000, for the separate use and establishment of her majesty. In reply, by means of Mr. Brougham, the queen presented a message to the House, acknowledging his majesty's condescension in recommending an arrangement respecting her to the consideration of parliament. "She is aware that this recommendation must be understood as referring to a provision for the support of her estate and dignity; and, from what has lately passed, she is apprehensive that such a provision may be unaccompanied by the possession of her rights and privileges, in the ample manner wherein former queen-consorts, her royal predecessors, have been wont, in time past, to enjoy them. It is far from the queen's inclination needlessly to throw obstacles in the way of a settlement, which she desires, in common with the whole country, and which she feels the best interest of all parties equally require; and being most anxious to avoid anything that might create irritation, she cautiously abstains from any observation on the unexampled predicament in which she is placed; but she feels it due to the House and to herself, respectfully to declare that she perseveres in the resolution of declining any arrangement while her name continues to be excluded from the Liturgy." In answer, Lord Castlereagh remarked, "that, undoubtedly, the queen had a right to abstain from receiving any benefit from the grant. Her majesty, on a former occasion, had declared that she would not take any money except from parliament. She is misinformed," observed his lordship; "she is travelling into those constitutional errors which she had been before led into. Her law advisers might have informed her, that it was from the crown only, and not from parliament, that she could receive any pecuniary grant. With respect to her majesty, parliament could not be disturbed from its course by her interference; she might, if she pleased, reject the grant when it came before her in a proper shape, but the House had nothing to do with her objections now." And so the vote was passed.

The cause of the queen, at this time, was in the hands of a party. As Canning said, "Faction marked her for its own." The unfortunate situation of the queen aroused the passions of the people in a peculiar manner. Her majesty, by the result of her trial, was placed in circumstances of a very delicate nature. The Court was against her; the fashionable world was against her; the church even refused its prayers for one who sadly needed them. She was thus thrown out of the circle from which it might be expected that a queen of England would select her favourites and friends. The Tories, who had at first supported her, had become friendly with the monarch, and had no wish to lose that friendship. Thus, it was left alone to the Whigs and Radicals to fight her battle, aided and backed by the general instincts of the people, who believed every tale told against the queen to be an infamous slander. The wonderful genius of Cruikshank (then a young man rising into fame) was enlisted on her side. Hone, the antiquarian bookseller (whose acquittal had cost Lord Ellenborough his life), worked well on her majesty's behalf. Their political squibs were the delight of the million. *The House that Jack Built, The Man in the Moon, The Political Showman at Home, The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder, Non Mi Ricordo, A Slap at Slop*, all richly coloured, and grotesquely drawn, are still preserved in many quarters as illustrations of the heat and passion of the age.

In July, Mr. Brougham was heard before the Privy Council on behalf of her majesty's claim to be crowned at the approaching coronation. Two days were occupied with hearing his able and eloquent arguments. In vain, however, did the honourable gentleman exert himself. In reply to her majesty's application, subsequently made to Lord Liverpool, to learn what arrangements had been made for the 19th of July—she was answered, that the crown, using its undoubted prerogative, would not have her included in the ceremony: and she was afterwards informed, that her attendance at the coronation would not be permitted.

For sixty years there had been no coronation in England; and all London was astir very early on July 19th, when, on the consecrated head of George IV., was to



be placed the crown of his fathers. Ambassadors and princes, and lords and ladies, were there, from every corner of the world. At half-past eight in the morning, the doors of Westminster Hall were closed against the admission of more company; and, at half-past ten, his gracious majesty appeared, and the ceremonial commenced.

And where was his queen? Outside; in vain endeavouring to find admission.

Her majesty set out from South Audley Street, in her state carriage, drawn by six beautiful bay horses, elegantly caparisoned, accompanied by Lady Hood and Lady Annie Hamilton. Another carriage followed, containing Lord Hood and the Hon. Keppel Craven. The queen alighted from her carriage in Dean's Yard, in the expectation of being allowed to enter. Twice refused, her majesty sought admission at several temporary doors, which, however, were shut at her approach. Some people then pointed out the opening to the platform, which her majesty immediately ascended, and, walking from thence to Old Palace Yard, entered first the passage to Cotton Garden, and, subsequently, along the covered way to Poet's Corner. At this last entrance, Lord Hood claimed admission for her majesty. The door-keepers demanded tickets. His lordship replied—"I present you your queen: surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket." However, the attendants were obstinate; and, finding every effort to gain admission ineffectual, her majesty returned to her carriage, and proceeded, amidst a vast concourse of people, home. The mob, incensed at the treatment the queen had received, broke the windows of the houses of his majesty's personal friends, and some of those of the chief officers of state; but little damage was done.

The queen, on her return, despatched to Lord Sidmouth a letter, requesting that "his majesty would be pleased to give an early answer to the demand which the queen had made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be crowned the following week, not wishing to incur any new expense to the nation." The queen also stated her trust that, after the public insult received that morning, the king would grant her just right to be crowned on the next Monday; and that his majesty would command the Archbishop of Canterbury to confer upon her that sacred and august ceremony.

And thus passed away the eventful day. Outside Westminster Hall there was a mob, cheering a helpless and persecuted woman. Inside was her persecutor, the royal debauchee, with false hair and padded figure, receiving the consecration of the church, with all the nobles and mighty men of the empire round him; with all the haughtiest and best-born of England's daughters, lending the charm of their beauty and presence to the scene; while, in that ancient hall resounded trumpet, and shout and song; and, from a thousand throats, burst forth England's magnificent air—"God save the King."

What cannot money and power do? The state doled out its cakes and ale. A balloon went up in Greenwich Park: in Hyde Park there were amusements for the people. In the evening the principal theatres were thrown open gratuitously; and there was a display of magnificent fireworks, under the direction of Sir William Congreve. All classes of the people, in every part of the kingdom, partook of the festivities of that memorable day: the demonstrations of joy being, says contemporary history, general throughout the kingdom.

The wrath of a king, says the writer of the Book of Proverbs, is as messengers of death. Thus was it with England's queen. This last and crowning insult sank deep into her heart. The spirit, hitherto indomitable, gave way. Her heart was broken; her strength decayed. In a few days her troubled life was to come to a close. Just before the king left England for Ireland, where he landed in an unmistakable state of intoxication, he was informed of the death of his queen. In the beginning of August, her majesty had complained of some slight indisposition while at Drury Lane Theatre; and, after her return home, she became much worse. On the 2nd of August, it was announced that she was suffering from a dangerous disease. After a week's illness, during which favourable symptoms

had occasionally appeared, the queen expired on the night of the 7th of August. From its first commencement, she had constantly declared her conviction that the disease would terminate fatally. In her will she expressed a wish that her body should not be opened; but that, three days after her death, it should be removed to Brunswick for interment. She further desired that the inscription on her coffin should be—"Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England." Almost her last words were, that she quitted life "without regret." Well might she say so! For what had she lived? For what had she to live?

Tuesday, the 14th of August, was the day fixed for the funeral. The government was in a hurry to get it over, to remove all obstructions to the public rejoicings to be held in honour of the king in Ireland. The orders were, that the body was to be conveyed privately to the continent, *viâ* Harwich. The queen's friends asked another day's delay: the request was refused. Lady Hood then wrote to Lord Liverpool, objecting to the military guard which had been ordered to attend the funeral; which, she thought, was likely to produce mischief. As government had never honoured the queen with a military escort during life, she thought that they ought, on her death, to suffer the people to pay their last tribute to her without such interference. But the king was not to be moved; and Lord Liverpool declined all further discussion. Accordingly, on the morning of the 14th, amidst pelting rain, an immense crowd collected around Brandenburg House, to pay their respects to the dead body of the queen. At Kensington there was a stoppage of an hour and a-half. The ministry had ordered that the body should not be taken through London: the people were determined that it should be. A blockade of waggons and carts, placed across the road, prevented the carrying out the royal programme. At Kensington Gore, a squadron of life-guards, headed by a magistrate, Sir R. Baker, found it impossible to open the park gates, and the crowd continued to vociferate—"To the city! to the city!" On reaching Hyde Park Corner, both the gate and Park Lane were strongly blocked up; but at length the soldiers succeeded in clearing the gate, and the procession proceeded hastily to Cumberland Gate, which also was found closed by the people. The soldiers made an attempt to effect a passage with their sabres; and in the conflict which ensued, the park wall was thrown down by the pressure of the crowd, and the stones converted into missiles to hurl at the soldiers, by which many of the military and the horses were hurt. Some of the troops fired, by which means several persons were wounded, and two were killed. The procession, after having experienced some opposition in the Edgware Road, proceeded to the turnpike-gate, near the top of Tottenham Court Road. The mob was here so determined in their opposition, and had formed so dense a barrier, that the military were obliged to give way, and turn down Tottenham Court Road into the Strand; from whence the procession was compelled to proceed through the city. After leaving London it moved along the route previously prescribed. In a little while the coffin reached Brunswick, and was interred in the family vault of the queen's ancestors. In England, there was a Court mourning from the 1st to the 27th of September.

The royal anger, however, was not yet appeased. Sir Robert Wilson, who had headed the procession, was dismissed shortly after from his majesty's service, to be compensated, in due time, by a liberal subscription, raised for him by an applauding public. Sir Robert Baker was also removed from his situation at the head of the police, because he had given way to the multitude in changing the route of the procession, when he saw that the original route could not be persevered in without bloodshed. Inquests were held on the men who had been killed at Cumberland Gate: one jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against a life-guardsman unknown; and another gave a general verdict of manslaughter against the troops.

And thus ends the story of one who came over to England, thirty years before, a buoyant, high-spirited girl, full of life and gaiety, "vastly happy with her future expectations." "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher; all is vanity."



In reviewing this history, it is clear that the ministry never anticipated the queen's arrival, and that they were quite confounded by it, and her audacity. She will "never come unless she is insane," wrote Lord Eldon. England was then in the hands of a few "great families;" and the Duke of Buckingham's editor tells us, "they regarded the coming struggle with a quiet disdain, that evinced their confidence in the loyalty and good sense of the nation." But the queen fell into hands determined to make, as Lord Dudley writes, the "deepest possible game." As regards her innocence or guilt, Cobbett confesses the people did not care a straw. The soldiers were tampered with; one of the regiments of foot-guards, quartered in the Mews barracks, had to be ordered away at once to Portsmouth. Even the Iron Duke could not see any favourable symptoms. "All," as he told Mr. Ward, with increasing sadness, "seem struck with panic; ourselves, and all: and if the country is lost, it will be through our cowardice. Everything," said he, "audacity and insolence on one side, and tameness on ours." The principal ministers went in danger of their lives. Lord Sidmouth never drove out without a case of loaded pistols on the seat of the carriage, ready for instant use; and when either of them was recognised in the public streets, he was sure to be greeted by groans and hisses, and sometimes by more formidable missiles. It was a wonderful relief to all parties when the Bill of Pains and Penalties was withdrawn after the second reading. "Well," said the Duke of Wellington, "we have done exceedingly well, and have avoided all sorts of mischief, I think with safety, and without dishonour. The votes put the question of guilt or innocence out of doubt; the withdrawing is grounded on mere expediency, and had nothing to do with the verdict: had we given up before the third reading, it would have been different." The trial over, the queen's popularity very much declined. The refusal to let her be present at the coronation, and her sudden, and, we must add, melancholy death, revived it a little; but had she lived, the presumption is that she would have had little influence, and would have been able, but in a very slight degree, to have disturbed the ministers or their king. It is evident, whatever may be the feeling of the reader as to her guilt or innocence, that, as the Duke of Buckingham remarks, "she was far from being the sort of woman a sensible man would court for his wife, or the kind of princess that would confer any distinction on the nation that would accept her as queen."

And what was George IV. doing all this while? The answer is—shutting himself in the Cottage, or at Carlton House, or at Brighton, growing feebler, and having frequent fits of vapours and the gout. On May 20th, Mr. Freemantle writes—"The king never shows himself. He has never been out of Carlton House. Lady Conyngham goes to him of an evening. His language is only about the coronation and Lady Conyngham; very little of the state of the country." In July, Mr. Freemantle writes thus:—"The king grows daily more unpopular, and is the only individual in the kingdom insensible to it. He sees Lady Conyngham daily." In August, the king was really alarmed, and would have welcomed any administration which could have helped him out of his difficulties. "The king," says Mr. Freemantle, "confines himself to the Cottage; has *hourly* messengers—that is, dragoons, who are posted on the road by dozens; and, we hear, is in a state of great irritation." Again he writes—"Be assured that the king, on this subject, is no less than mad. He has said he would rather die, or lose his crown, than submit to any compromise of any sort with the queen." In 1821, we find his majesty very sore on the subject of the press; and in the most imperative manner, in letters to Lord Eldon—"in your double capacity of friend and minister"—insisting upon the prosecution of "venders of treason, and libellers." Innumerable were the king's flirtations with the opposition, much to the annoyance of the Duke of Wellington, who, in July, 1821, expresses to Mr. Freemantle his indignation at Lady Conyngham. He said—"The situation in which she was now placed was one she had been seeking for twenty years; that her whole object was patronage, and patronage alone; that she mingled in everything she could; and it was entirely owing to the necessary

interference of the government on one or two points, and the offence given by Lady Castlereagh in not inviting her, that her present animosity to the government proceeded, and the consequent difficulties with the king."

In one respect George IV. has been much maligned. Intelligence of the serious character of the queen's malady reached him when he was making a yachting excursion. His own correspondence evinces a due regard to decency and decorum. It proceeded further; for when he put to sea with the intention of returning to England, his majesty, and all the royal suite, had a narrow escape from a watery grave. The scene is thus graphically described by his majesty's hand:—"We sailed again yesterday morning, between four and five o'clock, with a most promising breeze, to make the Land's End. About two or three in the morning the wind shifted immediately in our teeth; a violent hurricane and tempest suddenly arose; the most dreadful possible of nights and of scenes ensued; and nothing, I believe, but the undaunted presence of mind, perseverance, experience, and courage of Paget preserved us from a watery grave. The oldest and most experienced of our sailors were petrified and paralysed. You may judge somewhat, then, of what was the state of most of the passengers; every one almost flew up in their shirts upon deck, in terrors that are not to be described."

Enthusiastic Ireland did not participate with the English feeling concerning the queen and the king. "On his majesty landing," says Sir W. Knighton, "the inhabitants of Dublin and of the neighbourhood escorted him, with the most tumultuous acclamations, to the viceregal lodge, from the steps of which he thus addressed them:—"This is one of the happiest days in my life. I have long wished to visit you. My heart has always been Irish. From the first day it beat I loved Ireland; and this day has shown me that I am loved by my Irish subjects. Rank, station, honours are nothing; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects, is to me exalted happiness." The Grenville section of politicians were frightened. "The conduct of the Irish is beyond all conception of loyalty and adulation; and, I fear," writes the Marquis of Buckingham's correspondent, "will serve to strengthen those feelings of self-will and personal authority, which are, at all times, uppermost in the mind. The passage to Dublin," adds the same authority, "was occupied in eating goose-pie and drinking whiskey, in which his majesty partook most abundantly; singing many joyous songs; and being in a state, on his arrival, to double in sight even the numbers of his gracious subjects assembled on the pier to receive him." On his return, the king is described as "a little alarmed at the favour he had shown to the Catholics."

To increase his popularity, another trip was taken by the king—this time to Hanover; embarking at Ramsgate, and disembarking at Calais, whence the royal party proceeded to Brussels, and visited the field of Waterloo. The visit excited a great deal of Hanoverian enthusiasm: the towns, cities, and villages on the royal route turning out all their population, and erecting triumphal arches. The glimpse we get, in Knighton's *Memoirs*, of the primitive life of Germany, is really touching. The pastor, in his robes, is described as standing with his parishioners by the road-side, and the women carrying their Bibles under their arms. At Göttingen, an address was presented by the university, which moved him to tears. The visit was rather a bore to the monarch, who seems, according to his own confession, to have shammed a fit of the gout in order to expedite his departure. Lord Dudley writes—"I cannot help suspecting that his majesty's late journeys to see his kingdoms of Ireland and Hanover, will not, on the whole, redound much to his honour or advantage. His manners are, no doubt, when he pleases, very graceful and captivating. No man knows better how to add to an obligation by the way of conferring it. But, on the whole, he wants dignity, not only in the seclusion and familiarity of his more private life, but on public occasions. The secret of popularity, in very high stations, seems to consist in a somewhat reserved and lofty, but courteous and uniform manner. Drinking toasts; shaking people by the hand, and calling them Jack and Tom, gets more applause at the moment, but fails



entirely in the long run. He seems to have behaved, not like a sovereign coming, in pomp and state, to visit his dominions; but like a popular candidate, come down upon an electioneering trip. If, the day before he left Ireland, he had stood for Dublin, he would, I dare say, have turned out Shaw or Grattan. Henry IV. is a dangerous example for sovereigns that are not, like him, splendid chevaliers and consummate captains. Louis XIV., who was never seen but in a full-bottomed wig, even by his *valet-de-chambre*, is a much safer model."

Scotland, which his majesty visited in 1822, was as enthusiastic as Ireland or Hanover. Sir Walter Scott took a prominent part in the preparations that were making in the Scottish capital to receive its sovereign. The king delighted his Scottish subjects in wearing the highland garb, in which he was very carefully dressed by the Laird of Garth; but the pride of the Macgregors and Glengarries, who thronged around the royal person, suffered a serious blow when a London alderman entered the circle in a suit of the same tartan. The portly figure and civic dignity of Sir William Curtis gave to the costume too much of the appearance of a burlesque to pass unnoticed either by the sovereign or his royal admirers; and it was some time before they recovered their gravity. "The gude town" entertained the king at a grand banquet in the parliament-house; in the course of which he gave, as a toast, "The chieftains and clans of Scotland, and prosperity to the land of cakes."

On all the exciting topics chronicled in this chapter, Lord Palmerston, in the House of Commons, had nothing to say but on one particular subject: it was his duty to defend the government, and he did so. We have more than once referred to Sir Robert Wilson, an officer in the army, and a member of the House of Commons. As we have intimated, he was cashiered, professedly for his behaviour on the day when the queen's dead body was carried through the city. As a member of the House, Sir Robert argued his own case, and maintained that he had been unconstitutionally dismissed the service. The leading points of Lord Palmerston's reply are as follow:—"The honourable member clearly wished to insinuate that he had been divested of his commission on account of his political conduct in the House of Commons; that such had been his hostility to government, and such the apprehension with which they regarded him, that they wished to punish him for his parliamentary conduct, if they could not deliver themselves from so formidable an opponent (loud cries of 'hear, hear, hear'). Undoubtedly, he could perfectly understand the spirit of those liberal and enlightened politicians, who could so deal with their political opponents as to suppose them capable of the mean and disgraceful conduct of getting rid of a political opponent by an act of official hostility. But really he thought the honourable member estimated his powers of hostility to his majesty's ministers at too high a rate, when he conceived that these powers had drawn down upon him such an exhibition of resentment. Against this invidious supposition on the part of the honourable gentleman, he would confidently appeal to the experience of the House and of the country, whether the conduct of his majesty's government in matters of that sort had been influenced by such a pitiful principle? Was the honourable gentleman the only member of the army who had evinced a systematic opposition in that House to the measures of his majesty's government? If the opposition of the honourable gentleman in parliament were really the chief cause of his removal, at least that principle of conduct had not been seen in the case of a gallant general opposite. It had not been seen in the continuance of the honourable gentleman himself in the army so long as he had been continued. Had his majesty's government been influenced by any such mean and miserable feelings of resentment towards the honourable gentleman as that which he ascribed to them, they needed not have waited until the 14th of August, 1821, for ample opportunities of gratifying that disposition.

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"He would venture to say, without entering into all the details of the honourable gentleman's speech, that that speech itself afforded a strong presumption that

the prerogative had been justly exercised in the present instance. First, he would say, that when a person held a commission in the service of the king—when he received the king's pay—when he was decorated with orders and titles, which, as a British officer, he could not have worn without the gracious permission of his sovereign, and when he nevertheless continued, with a number of persons, engaged in illegal proceedings, and opposing the legitimate orders of the king, his master, he was guilty of a direct and gross insult to the sovereign whom he served. This was a prominent feature in the honourable gentleman's own statement, which, independently of any other consideration, justified the step which had been taken with respect to him. The honourable gentleman had stated, that when he came up to Cumberland Gate, he saw the life-guards broken and in disorder; that they appeared, to an eye experienced in military matters, as if they had been checked and repulsed. The honourable gentleman found them venturing their lives in an attack upon a furious populace. He found these brave men, who had so gallantly fought for their country, in a situation of considerable jeopardy. What did the honourable gentleman do on the occasion? He must have been aware of what must have been the duty of an officer under such circumstances. If he was not aware of that duty, he was unworthy of the commission which he bore. Was it possible, however, that the honourable gentleman could have acted in a manner more calculated to provoke military insubordination than—officer as he was—holding a commission, but not having any authority on that occasion—by addressing either the soldiers or the officers who were employed at the time, and who were responsible for the manner in which they performed their duties? It was an act of great military insubordination to address troops under such circumstances at all; but the language in which, by the honourable gentleman's own admission, he addressed them, highly aggravated the character of his military offence. The honourable gentleman admitted that he told the soldiers that it was disgraceful to continue firing. What judge was the honourable gentleman whether the men had disgraced themselves or not?

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"The honourable gentleman, a general officer, knew, or ought to have known, that by the rules and discipline of the army, he was guilty of a great breach of those rules and that discipline, by interfering with soldiers while in discharge of their duty.

"If that prerogative were relinquished—if an officer could not be divested of his commission but by the decision of members of his own body, a fourth estate would be created in the realm, most prejudicial to the constitution.

"Let parliament once make the army independent of the crown, and it would not be long ere the army would make itself independent of parliament. In support of this truth, he would appeal to the annals of our history, in which the facts will be found written in characters of blood."

Later in the session, when Wilson's case was again brought forward, his lordship thus condensed the same doctrine:—"Whenever popular assemblies had attempted to command a military force, the thing had usually ended by that force commanding them."

Lord Palmerston represented the official feeling. It is clear, from the Buckingham correspondence, that the officers in the army were unanimous against Sir Robert. Wilberforce writes—"Hearing the newspaper debates on Sir Robert Wilson. He has been treated very harshly; and, especially, it has surely been ungenerous not to give due praise to his military services. On constitutional principles, I could not have supported the inquiry; but, I dare say, when he was dismissed from the army, many reports were believed of him which are now disbelieved."

We may now suppose Lord Palmerston to be getting over some of that modesty which was his characteristic in his younger days; and which, undoubtedly, hindered him from pushing himself forward, or from taking that position in the



government to which his talents, industry, and rank gave him claim. When Lord Mulgrave offered him a seat in the cabinet, the Hon. Edward Phipps writes—“In a letter of this period; written with all the modesty that generally accompanies true talent, the young Lord Palmerston expresses the satisfaction he feels in accepting the office tendered to him unsolicited, and his anxiety to justify the good opinion which such a step must indicate.” All the references to his lordship, at this period, agree in this respect. On the formation of the Perceval administration, Mr. Plumer Ward writes, in his *Diary*—

“Lord Palmerston came to town; sent for by Perceval. He was so good as to confide to me that three things were offered to him—the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Secretaryship at War, or a seat at the Treasury, by way of introduction to the seals, if he was afraid of entering on them at once. These offers were, however, in the alternative of there being any of them declined by Milnes (member for Pontefract), to whom they were made in the first instance. Lord Palmerston consulted me very frankly on them, and asked if I thought that he would be equal to the seals, either in cabinet or parliament; particularly the latter, where he had barely made his *débüt*. I told him, and was most sincere, that in common with all his friends whom I had ever heard speak on the subject, I thought him quite equal to them in point of capacity; but as to nerves in parliament (of which he himself seemed most to doubt), nobody could judge but himself. He said, Petty (whom I had mentioned) had come forward, after having felt his way, and got possession of himself in the House; and that if he had done the same, he, perhaps, would not hesitate. As it was, he inclined to the second place; but had written to Lord Malmesbury. Among other topics which I urged, one seemed to impress him much—which was, the great difference there would be in his situation and pretensions upon a return to office, in the event of our going out, if he retired as a cabinet minister, instead of a subordinate capacity. He allowed it much flattered his ambition; but feared the prejudice it would occasion to his own reputation, and the interests of his friends, if he failed. I left him inclining to the Secretary at War; and admired his prudence, as I have long done the talents and excellent understanding, as well as the many other good qualities and accomplishments, of this very fine young man.”

A little later in the year we have another reference to Palmerston. In a letter to Lord Lonsdale, Mr. Ward writes—“Though Milnes has refused office, the effect of his interviews with Perceval has been to promise all possible support to his government; and this, after begging to see Canning in consequence of their intimacy together, and a full hearing of his case on his own representation. If Rose takes the seals, Lord Palmerston tells me he will probably succeed him as Treasurer of the Navy. I wish him every good; and his talents, when he gets over his nervousness about speaking, must give the most effectual support.” The writer’s wish was gratified: Lord Palmerston did get over his nervousness. Indeed, in our day, that would have been about the last fault laid to his charge.

We find another entry in Mr. Ward’s *Diary*, which we must transcribe. “Lord Palmerston told me to-day, that when he took the War Office, Perceval offered him the cabinet, which, though Lord Malmesbury advised the contrary, he declined. He did this, it seems, from the same modesty which guided his former conduct—a fear that, from his inexperience, he might not answer expectation, which would hurt both himself and his friends, among whose coadjutors no *failure* could be afforded.” Thus carefully and slowly did Lord Palmerston feel his way; thus did he display a wisdom beyond his years, and which, in time, was to place him on the pinnacle of fame and power.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE DAWN OF LIBERALISM.

MEN are the slaves of names.

Under George IV. the nation made a great advance in Liberalism; yet we had a Tory government all the while.

Well might George III. tell Mr. Rose that he was "an old Whig." In creed and practice, the old Whigs were for a national debt; the funded system; a state bank; exclusive trading corporations; a standing army; foreign wars and foreign intervention; Protestant ascendancy, and Catholic exclusion; restrictive laws on foreign products, and protective laws for articles of home growth; the longer duration of parliaments; and the excise.

The French revolution forced Pitt to become a Tory.

After his death, for sixteen years, the Tory party lived on his traditions. The Liverpool administration lasted all that while; but, when it was first formed, people expected its dissolution in six months. As Premier, Lord Liverpool won the esteem of a great portion of the middle and commercial classes of this country; although George III. spoke slightly of him, and complained of his ignorance of foreign affairs, and unbusiness-like habits. By the addition of Peel, Canning, and others, and, subsequently, the Duke of Wellington, the Liverpool administration gained much strength. Lord Eldon was very much annoyed. "Can this man (Liverpool) be in earnest?" he asks of one of his correspondents.

In January, 1822, the Liverpool administration gained a great accession of strength. The Marquis of Buckingham was made a duke; Mr. Charles Wynn received the appointment of President of the Board of Control; the duke's nominees, Phillimore and Freemantle, were also provided for; and Mr. Henry Wynn received a diplomatic appointment.

Lord Sidmouth—"that foolish fellow," as the Duke of Wellington termed him—retired from office, and Mr. Peel took his place. "This coalition," writes Sir A. Alison, "gained ministers a few votes in the House of Commons; but it was of more importance as indicating (as changes do) the commencement of a change in the system of government. The admission of even a single Whig into the cabinet indicated the increasing weight of that party in the country; and as they were favourable to Catholic claims, it was an important change." Lord Eldon was very much annoyed about it—a pretty good sign that the step was a desirable one in the interests of the public; and it was so understood by the community at large. One of the first things done by the new administration was to abolish a couple of useless offices. Lord Eldon calls this "stripping the crown naked."

The cabinet was still further liberalised by the death of Lord Castlereagh—at that time Marquis of Londonderry.

The end of the latter was truly shocking. At the close of the session he had retired to his seat at Foot's Cray, Kent, August 12th, 1822. Before his lordship left London, his physician had observed his head to be very confused, and his pulse to be irregular, and had ordered him to be cupped. His colleagues, also, had begun to fancy that there was something amiss. Dr. Bankhead had promised to follow him to his country seat. When he arrived, he went directly to Lord Londonderry's room, who had remained in bed all the day. His lordship observed that it was very odd that he should come to his room first; and on Bankhead answering, that, as he had dined in town, he did not wish to disturb the family at dinner, Lord Londonderry said that the doctor looked very grave, as if something unpleasant had occurred; and begged to know what it was. The doctor replied



that nothing of the kind had occurred. His lordship then apologised, adding, that "the truth was, he had reason to be suspicious; but that he hoped the doctor would be the last person to engage in anything that would be injurious to him." In a morning or two after, the doctor was summoned to attend Lord Londonderry in his dressing-room; and entered just in time to save him from falling, as he had cut his throat with a penknife. He said, as the doctor entered—"Bankhead, let me fall upon your arm; it is all over:" and instantly expired.

The elevated position the marquis had held for many years, had made him a prominent mark for the shafts of honest patriots and malignant partisans. We owe to him the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland; and to the calculations of his lordship, as Secretary at War, and as Foreign Secretary, the successes in our terrible encounter with Bonaparte are partly due. "As a statesman, as a gentleman, as a man, he was," writes the Duke of Buckingham, "the Bayard of political chivalry—*sans peur et sans reproche*." His best advocate, we believe, will be found in the *Castlereagh Despatches*, edited by his brother, the late marquis. "Elegant and courteous in manner, with a noble figure, and finely-chiselled countenance, he was beloved in his family circle, and by all his friends, not less than respected by the wide circle of sovereigns and statesmen with whom he had so worthily upheld the honour and dignity of England." Such is the testimony of the Conservative historian, Alison. Most of Londonderry's colleagues entertained a similar opinion. "Our own country, and Europe," writes Lord Eldon, "have sustained a loss, in my opinion, irreparable." An equally strong testimony in his favour is that of Mr. Freemantle, who, writing upon the supposition that Canning must now join the ministry, adds—"But, after all, I fear we shall not, even with Canning and Peel, and even Grant in addition, be altogether so well off as with Londonderry." His lordship, at the express wish of his lady, was buried in Westminster Abbey, when the mob took occasion to show their sense of the merits of the deceased. "From being in the first coach," writes Mr. C. W. Wynn, "I could see little of the behaviour of the mob at the funeral; but all that I saw or heard was perfectly proper till the removal of the coffin from the hearse, to enter the abbey, when a Radical yell was set up from St. Margaret's churchyard."

In the session of 1793, Mr. Canning took his seat as M.P. for Newport, Isle of Wight. In 1795, he became Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, which he held till Pitt went out of office on the Catholic question. On the latter returning to office in 1804, Canning became Treasurer of the Navy. On Mr. Pitt's death, we find him a fierce opponent of the administration. Under the Duke of Portland, he was Foreign Secretary, which office he held till his quarrel with Lord Castlereagh, arising out of the unfortunate Walcheren expedition; when he resigned, and his friend Huskisson did the same. Canning remained out of office some time; accepting, however, the post of ambassador to Lisbon from Lord Castlereagh, while he refused to serve with him. Shortly after his return, he was made President of the Board of Control, in consequence of the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. In 1820, he resigned office rather than take part in the proceedings against the queen.

The way was now clear; and Canning came back to office as Foreign Secretary, and leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Wynn had all along regretted the loss of Canning. "Though I have no respect for his character, yet he is of great use to check Burdett, Hobhouse, Lambton, &c." Again, he writes, under the date of 1822—"I think as ill of the latter—Canning—as the K—or you can; but it seems to me so much his interest to do his best, and that the gulf between him and the reformers is so impassable, that it would be far better to admit him, and take the benefit of his services in the House of Commons, which no other man can render." On the occasion of Lord Londonderry's death, Lord Dudley, one of Canning's most intimate friends, writes—"Great as his talents for parliament are, and great as is the want of them on the ministerial side, it is not without reluctance that the rest of the cabinet will consent to receive him as an associate.

If they make him any proposal, it will only be because they are forced to it." And forced to it, as we have seen, they were.

Lord Eldon had viewed, as we can easily imagine, the introduction of Mr. Canning into the cabinet with considerable discontent; but the appointment of Canning's personal friend, Mr. Huskisson, in 1823, to a seat in the cabinet, nearly upset the Lord Chancellor. He writes—"Looking at the whole history of this gentleman, I don't consider this introduction, without a word said about the intention, as I should have, perhaps, done with respect to some persons that have been, or might be, brought into the cabinet; but, turning out one man and introducing another, in the way all this is done, is telling the Chancellor that he should not give them the trouble of disposing of him, but should cease to be a Chancellor. What makes it worse is, that the great man of all has a hundred times most distinctly declared that no connections of a certain person should come in." A fair portrait of Mr. Huskisson is drawn by Lord Dudley. "Besides possessing considerable abilities, and, on some subjects, extensive knowledge, he is cheerful, good-natured, and obliging: a man of the world of the best sort."

Mr. Canning was a Tory. It is the fashion to consider him a Liberal, prostituting himself, for the sake of pay, to the Tory party; a horse of the sun harnessed to a brewer's dray. We think better of him. He was a Tory in heart as well as in parliament. He steadily declared he should oppose reform, in whatever shape it might appear, to the last hour of his life. As to concessions to the Catholics, it was notorious that George IV. only consented to receive him as minister upon the express condition that no such concessions should be even thought of. Rejected by the Tory aristocracy on account of birth, he formed an administration of the Liberal party, who, like the Marquis of Lansdowne and Mr. Tierney, abandoned their professions for the sake of office. But Canning was not a brainless, thick-headed Tory; and he was aware of the hollow settlement of Europe made by the Tories and the holy alliance. Up to his time we had, if not cordially approved of, at any rate silently acquiesced in, the policy of our continental allies; but when, in 1823, the restored Bourbons, wishing to achieve something which might commend them to the French, conceived the project of first restoring the arbitrary form of the Spanish government (then a modified despotism, tempered by British protection), and then of reconquering the revolted American colonies of Spain, which had thrown off the yoke of the mother country, Mr. Canning resolved to prevent it. He declared that, by means of "the new world," he would redress the balance of the old. He acknowledged the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies; and in his famous speech, in which he compared himself to *Æolus* holding the chained tempests in his hand, he replied to the threats of Austria and other continental powers, by threatening, in no mysterious terms, an alliance betwixt England and their own defrauded subjects, to whom, in the hour of need, they had promised constitutions on a popular basis.

Mr. Canning steered the vessel of state bravely on. For the first time since the death of Pitt, we had a strong and popular administration. Mr. Canning's genius, his great and brilliant talent, and his oratory, naturally won their way in a popular assembly. He gave the ministry an ascendancy in debate, of which, previously, they had stood in need. He retained the middle and manufacturing classes on the Tory side, though he frightened impossible ones, such as George IV., old Eldon, and the Duke of York. He was independent in spirit and action: he would be second to none. His literary taste and his polished manners were all in his favour, and marked him, in early life, as a winner in the political race. By his marriage with General Scott's daughter, whose sister afterwards became Duchess of Portland, Canning acquired wealth and connection. In parliament he had no rival on his own side of the House. He had genius, eloquence, poetry, and a mind capable of solving difficult questions; while his treatment of trifles was of an exquisitely skilful and ludicrous character. And yet this man was never entirely trusted by the party whom he served, and who could not have held office without



him. More than any other man of the time, Canning might exclaim, in his own language—

“ Give me the avow'd, the erect, the manly foe,  
 Bold I can meet—perhaps may turn his blow;  
 But of all plagues, good Heaven! thy wrath can send,  
 Save, save, oh save me from the candid friend.”

In that self-seeking age it is strange the suspicion with which Canning was viewed. Selfishness, on the largest scale, seems to have been the only motive for public life. The great noblemen supported the government, if it was made worth their while. “ Lord Lansdowne writes word to a correspondent here,” writes Lord Dudley, “ that everything in England has fallen in price except the Grenvilles. They have certainly made an excellent bargain in proportion to their talents, reputation, and numerical strength. Were Lord G. still in the full vigour of life and exertion, one should not be surprised at any sacrifice made to obtain so powerful a support; but, by his retirement from public affairs, one would have thought that the value of the family was reduced near to that of the half-dozen votes they can bring into a division.” A borough was then considered as private property, and to be used for private ends.

“ Lord Grosvenor,” writes Mr. Freemantle to the Marquis of Buckingham, “ has two vacancies for Shaftesbury.” “ All *your* members,” on another occasion he writes to the marquis, “ voted.”

Mr. Henry Wynn wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham, relative to his interview with Lord Castlereagh—“ He began by a great deal of palaver about the obligation the government were under to *my* family.” Mr. Freemantle writes to the Duke of Buckingham—“ Lord Harrowby is the candidate for the garter, which, if he don't get, will, I think, drive him from the government.”

The Hon. C. Wynn wrote of the Duke of Wellington—“ I do not understand his views and objects; they begin centre, and end, no doubt, in himself.” Selfishness reigned everywhere. No wonder Wilberforce wrote—“ I verily believe, and have long believed, the constituent body to be more corrupt than the representative.” The county members almost exclusively confined their attention to the agricultural interest, and gave the ministry a very inefficient support. Mr. Canning had to avail himself of this selfishness, and to make sure of the king's favour, which he did to the intense mortification of his rivals and friends. Lord Eldon was especially annoyed. He writes—“ The appointment of Lord Albert Conyngham in the Foreign Office has, by female influence, put Canning beyond the reach of anything to affect him; and will, naturally, enable him to turn those out whom he does not wish to remain in. The king is in such thralldom that one has nobody to fall back on.”

Canning's great blunder was on the question of reform. He committed his party to hostility to it.

The Whigs, originally, were not reformers. The *Edinburgh Review*, their own special organ, repudiates the idea altogether.

So late as 1820, Lord Grenville writes to the Marquis of Buckingham, complaining of “ the manner in which the opposition have, of late years, most unfortunately for themselves and for the country, been drawn to mix themselves up with projects of reform.”

In 1821, the feeling of the country gentlemen and of the great families, with a few exceptions, was in favour of the ministry; as, in the language of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville to the Marquis of Buckingham, the question was, “ whether the opposition is to be suffered, from its base alliance with the Radicals and with the queen, to take violent possession of government, in order to overturn the whole system of our constitution; to bring in annual or triennial parliaments; to do little short of introducing universal suffrage; to disband the army, which now holds the Radicals in check; and, very probably, to let loose Bonaparte, under pretence of mitigating his confinement.”

In 1782, Mr. Pitt brought forward a motion in the House of Commons for a plan of parliamentary reform, by which he proposed to buy up the boroughs, and transfer the right of election to the freeholders of the counties at large, or to certain districts. As a consistent Pittite, the time had now come for Mr. Canning to promote the cause of parliamentary reform. He refused to do so; and thus created a reaction in the middle classes of society against Toryism, which, for many years, rendered a Tory administration an utter impossibility.

By his foreign policy it is that he has the fairest claims on our gratitude as a Liberal. He separated England from the holy alliance. The very first blow he struck in the congress of Vienna, announced to the world the attitude England was about to take, and her total denial of the right of the alliance to interfere with the internal affairs of an independent nation. "The alliance had arrived at such a pitch of confidence," writes Mr. Stapleton, "that the ministers of the four Courts called in a body on Mr. Canning, to remonstrate with him on the appointment of Sir William A. Court as the king's minister to Madrid, on account of the countenance that his presence would give to the constitutional government."

The spring-time had come. England began to breathe a freer air.

Mr. Canning's system of foreign policy, as described in his own language, resolved itself into this principle of action—that "England should hold the balance, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles: that, in order to prevent things from going to extremities, she should keep a middle ground, staying the plague both ways."

"The development of this principle," writes Mr. Bell, "as it applied to nations, was illustrated in the strict but watchful neutrality observed between France and Spain; and, as it applied to principles, in the recognition of the independence of the Spanish American colonies. The latter act may be regarded as the most important, for which Mr. Canning was officially responsible; as that which exerted the widest and most distinct influence over the policy of other countries, and which most clearly and emphatically revealed the tendency of his own. It showed that England would recognise institutions raised up by the people, as well as those created by kings. It gave a death-blow to the holy alliance."

Canning was exposed to raking censure on all sides. The opposition, who had hopes of him, were very bitter. Mr. Freemantle writes, in 1823, on one occasion, to the Duke of Buckingham—"You will see, by the papers, the turbulent discussion we had last night. I was not in the House till afterwards, and, therefore, can only give you what I heard of the impression made, which was altogether favourable to Canning. His want of temper was condemned in the first instance; but, at the same time, it is thought it will be beneficial in stopping those strains of invective and abuse which are daily increasing, and likely still more to increase if not put down. The fact is, that the opposition have been buoying themselves up with the hope and expectation of friendship with Canning; they now see this to be visionary, and are determined to try and drive a dissension in the cabinet by violence; and in this they are encouraged by the language held, and general conduct of the Lord Chancellor."

On the return of the Duke of Wellington from Verona a bitter attack ensued. The papers which were presented to parliament respecting the negotiations at Verona, Paris, and Madrid, "are considered," says the Duke of Buckingham's correspondent, "so far satisfactory, as to meet the feelings of the country in maintaining a neutrality; that is, in avoiding England to any share in hostilities. But I should say they have given an impression that we were duped by the French government up to the moment of the king's speech, and even afterwards; and that the tone maintained by England, throughout the whole of these proceedings, was not sufficiently high and commanding." There is also, it must be confessed, throughout the whole of the negotiations, a continued exertion, on the part of England, to induce the Spaniards to give way by some modification of their constitution, without a corresponding attempt to induce France to remove her army.



Altogether, the opposition thought they had a good case. Lord Chatham's memory was appealed to, who was reported to have said (for he never could have said so absurd a thing), that not a gun should be fired in Europe without his leave. A grand parliamentary debate ensued. In the House of Commons it lasted three nights. On the third, after one or two speeches, Lord Palmerston rose, and delivered his first recorded utterances on foreign affairs. His lordship vindicated the course of government. "We never meant war; we could not well afford war after our twenty years' superhuman struggle; and we had never threatened war. Faithful as we were to the doctrine of neutrality, and, therefore, precluded from giving the Spaniards active assistance, we did the next best thing we could do for them. We did our best to dissuade France from her aggression. It had been said that a higher moral tone ought to have been taken by this country, and that true and just principles ought to have been more prominently put forward. If, indeed, the government, instead of labouring to preserve the peace of Europe, had only thought of getting up a case for the House of Commons, it would have been easy to have written papers to satisfy the keenest cravings of the most constitutional appetite. But the object of the government was not to lay a good foundation for a parliamentary debate, but to persuade those (foreign governments) whom they were addressing. It was no use making declarations about the principles of liberty to despots. They must be met upon their own, or upon neutral ground. If one wishes to convince men, one must apply one's arguments to principles which they recognise. If one wishes to persuade them, one must urge motives whose influence they feel. Still, the principles of liberty were asserted, because it was due to the character of ourselves to do so. We maintained the injustice of interference, but urged strongly the improbability of its success. We denied the right of France to dictate a government to Spain, but pressed upon her the danger of creating a revolution at Paris, by endeavouring to put down a revolution at Madrid. He denied that the counsels given to Spain to make concessions were dishonouring to her. They were given in a spirit of friendliness. They were given on their merits. The Spaniards had gone too far. Sorry, indeed, would he be to live under such a government." He also justified the channel through which the advice had been communicated. "Surely, the Duke of Wellington was the very man to please the Spaniards; and he, finding himself in his former field of glory, would have his old feelings of regard for them warmed and revived." He concluded by repeating that ministers were defensible, alike on grounds of principle and policy.

Dr. Mackay writes—

" There's a light about to glow,  
 There's a fount about to flow;  
 There's a midnight blackness changing into grey;  
 Men of thought and men of action clear the way."

At this period the way was being cleared. In 1822, Sir James Mackintosh got the House to resolve to take into serious consideration the means of increasing the efficacy of the criminal law, by abating its undue rigour in certain cases, together with the proper measures for strengthening the police, and making the punishments of transportation and imprisonment effective for the ends of example and reformation; and, in 1823, four acts were passed, mitigating the severity of some part of our abominable penal code. It may be remembered how Sir Samuel Romilly had laboured for this end. Upon his sudden decease, Sir James Mackintosh became his parliamentary successor. A brief notice of this eminent man will not be out of place.

Sir James Mackintosh was born in Scotland, of very humble parentage, in the year 1765, and was educated at Edinburgh, where he took part in the debates of the Speculative Society. Subsequently he was called to the English bar, and became first known to the public by his *Vindicæ Gallicæ*. In 1803, he sailed for India, having been appointed, by Lord Sidmouth, Recorder of Bombay; and there

he spent, in no very agreeable banishment, the next nine years of his life. In 1812 he returned to England, having achieved a small independence, and became M.P. for Weymouth. He was afterwards made a privy councillor; but never held any government appointment; and died in 1832, while still in the full vigour of his understanding, and without, it must be acknowledged, having done anything in literature commensurate to the high expectations justly formed of his abilities. As a conversationalist he was unrivalled. Sir A. Alison places him above Jeffrey: and Wilberforce, meeting him at dinner, where Brougham and others were present, intimates that, by sitting next to Mackintosh, he secured the prize. His attempts at criticism and history were of the highest literary order: but he had no perseverance. His time was too much given to society; and he has left behind no enduring monument to his fame.

In parliament Sir James succeeded in taking a high place: and not in vain did he devote himself to the reformation of our criminal code. The subject, as touched and adorned by his philosophical genius, became popular. Owing to his influence, Mr. Peel was converted; and the result of that conversion was a great reformation: our criminal laws were rendered less sanguinary than those deemed sacred by Chancellor Eldon. Nay, even the latter had to give way; and a beginning was made of chancery reform.

In commercial matters the work of progress had been commenced. A select committee was appointed, in 1823, to consider the best means of maintaining and improving the foreign trade of the country. The Warehousing Bill—the object of which was to allow foreigners to deposit their goods in our warehouses, and to take them out for exportation without payment of duty—was passed; as was also the Reciprocity Bill, which went to the repeal of much of our system of navigation laws. Further steps were taken in the same direction. For instance, Mr. Huskisson, in the course of his free-trade policy, attacked the silk duties—a part of the system of protection which then prevailed—and what was the consequence? Miss Martineau is our authority for the reply. “In the year 1829, it was found that the silk manufacture was twice as extensive as in 1821, 1822, and 1823, and still progressive. Our machinery and our taste improved, and, with them, the fabric, and colours, and patterns of our manufactured silks, till it was clear, to unprejudiced eyes, that English silks had become superior to the French. In ten years from the passing of the bill, and in eight from the admission of French silks, we were exporting silk goods to France to the value of £63,346 annually. New mills were erected, and the manufacture spread gradually from district to district, calling more and more thousands into existence.” Mr. Huskisson carried a bill allowing wool to be either exported or imported on a payment of one penny per pound of one shilling value. Immediately this ancient manufacture of England improved; and, in three years, Mr. Huskisson could boast that our manufacturers had imported 40,000,000 lbs. Canning and Huskisson both believed that commerce flourished best when wholly unfettered by restrictions; but the faith in protection was too strong to be extinguished in their time. As an illustration of the way in which reciprocity was enforced, and of the half-joking way in which Mr. Canning performed his official duties, the following anecdote will suffice. If the king in council had the power of relinquishing the duties on foreign ships and cargoes, where the principle of reciprocity was conceded, he had also a retaliatory power of imposing increased duties where that principle was evaded or resisted. Mr. Canning did this in order to compel other countries to form more reasonable tariffs. A curious instance occurred with reference to Holland. M. Falck, the Dutch minister, having made a one-sided proposition for the admission of English ships, in a way which would have given Holland an unfair advantage, a long diplomatic correspondence ensued. At last, Mr. Canning’s patience was exhausted. Sir Charles Bagot, our ambassador at the Hague, was one day attending at Court, when a despatch, in cipher, was hastily put into his hand. It was very short, and very urgent. Unfortunately the key of the cipher was not in his pocket. An



interval of intense anxiety followed. When, however, the mystery was cleared up, the despatch was as follows:—

“ In matters of commerce, the fault of the Dutch  
Is giving too little, and asking too much.  
With equal advantage the French are content,  
So we'll clap on Dutch bottoms a twenty per cent.,  
Twenty per cent.,  
Twenty per cent.,  
*Nos frapperons Falck with twenty per cent.*  
GEORGE CANNING.”

Another cheering sign of the times, and a notification of the departure from the principles of the holy alliance, was the modification of the Alien Act, proposed and carried by Mr. Peel, in 1824.

In 1826 the act was almost entirely abandoned. It required all foreigners to take up their residence here; to register their names and other particulars; and it invested government with the power of deportation at a moment's notice. There were upwards of 25,000 on the register in 1820 and 1822; and the fact that few of them were engaged in definite pursuits, showed that the great majority had but just escaped from continental troubles. They were not, however, very troublesome. In ten years, less than as many persons were sent away. In 1824, there were 26,500 in the country; and though some of them had been detected in plots embarrassing to the government, only one was deported. Mr. Peel then proposed that the necessity for registration in future should cease in seven years; and, ultimately, he renounced altogether the power of deportation. Both changes gave great satisfaction to the nation, and to the unfortunate objects of its protection.

The combination laws, also, were then very much in the way of masters and men. Parliament repealed some of them, and allowed the artisan to emigrate, which, before, he was forbidden to do. It had also to legislate in the interests of the men, who were under the tyranny of unions. In Dublin, especially, these societies were productive of great evils. Many persons were actually murdered. If the carriers were offended with their masters, they applied to the carpenters to be the instruments of their revenge. If the carpenters had any obnoxious master or man to waylay and punish, they applied to the shoemakers. Thus each trade assisted the other; and the difficulties in the way of detection, in cases of personal grievance, or loss of life, were considerably increased. In a fit of unusual generosity, parliament proceeded too far in repealing these laws. The working classes had been for some time under the domination of a few. At the instigation of these social demagogues, so soon as parliament had risen, organisations were formed throughout the manufacturing districts; strikes were continued for months; and the resources of the capitalist and the labourer alike consumed. Early in the session of 1825, Mr. Huskisson, therefore, moved for the appointment of a committee to reconsider the subject.

Perhaps, however, the best thing that could happen for the country, and the truest token of its progress, was the retirement of Lord Chancellor Eldon into private life. When the king received the intimation of his intention to resign, he sent for his lordship, to present him with a token of regard for his past services. This memento took the form of a magnificent silver-gilt cup and cover. It bore the following inscription:—“The gift of his majesty, King George IV., to his highly-valued friend, John, Earl of Eldon, Lord High Chancellor of England, upon his retirement from his official duties, in the year 1827.” It was time that Lord Eldon retired. He had long fallen behind his age, and his colleagues had failed to defend him when attacked. In 1825, Mr. Brougham satirically remarked, on the rumour that if a Catholic Relief Bill were passed, Lord Eldon would resign, “that those who expected such a result, greatly underrated the firmness and courage with which he bore, and would continue to bear, the duties of his high station. In these qualities,” continued Mr. B., “his lordship had never been excelled—perhaps

had never been paralleled. His patience, under the circumstances, could only be rivalled by the fortitude with which he bore the prolonged distress of the suitors in his own court. In his generous mind there was no propensity so strong as a love of the service of his country. He was, no doubt, convinced that, the higher an office, the more unjustifiable it would be to abandon it. The more splendid the emoluments of a situation—the more extensive its patronage, the more he was persuaded that it was not permitted to a wise and good man to tear himself from it." In his *Diary*, Lord Eldon tells us, this speech proceeded from "bitter malignity. No young lady was ever so unforgiving for being refused a silk gown, when silk gowns adorned female forms, as Brougham is with me; because, having insulted my master, the insulted don't like to clothe him with distinction, honour, and silk." The crabbed Lord Chancellor adds—"Canning answered every part of Brougham's speech except what concerned his colleague—myself. But this is what I should have expected." Brougham never would let Lord Eldon alone; and the unkindest cut of all was, that the Chancellor's own colleagues appeared to enjoy the Commoner's brilliant invectives as much as the fiercest members of opposition.

On the 16th of July, 1823, during a debate in the House of Commons, on the subject of Scotch bills, Mr. Brougham afforded great amusement to that assembly, by drawing a vivid, but somewhat sarcastic, picture of the state of the government. "As to Lord Liverpool," observed the learned gentleman, "he is no more Prime Minister than I am. I reckon Lord Liverpool a sort of member of opposition; and, after what has recently passed, if I were required, I should describe him as 'a noble lord in another place, with whom I have the honour to act.' Lord Liverpool may have collateral influence; but Lord Eldon has all the direct influence of the Prime Minister. He is Prime Minister to all intents and purposes; and he stands alone in the full exercise of all the full influence of that high station." In this strain the orator proceeded, claiming Lord Liverpool as a coadjutor, because both opposed the measures of the Lord Chancellor. The silence with which this attack was received by the treasury bench displeased Lord Eldon vastly. The Chancellor, as he tells us, was always going to resign. This intention gave rise to the following squib, widely circulated at the time:—

"The Chancellor vows he'll depart, as they say,  
(So Derry sometimes, if his crew disobey);  
But when his resigning a minister mentions,  
We think how hell's paved with mankind's good intentions;  
For still being in, so oft going out,  
We feel much inclined, like his lordship, to doubt."

Lord Eldon had long been the object of opposition attacks. On a motion, brought forward by Mr. Williams, for a committee to inquire into the forms and practices of the Court of Chancery, serious charges against him were implied or expressed. This caused the Lord Chancellor to state publicly, in court, that a certain statement that had been made against him was "an utter falsehood." As the offending individual was Mr. Abercromby, he, on the 1st of March, obtained leave to establish it by evidence. "Nothing," writes Mr. Freemantle, "could have been so disgraceful to a man as the whole of the proceedings relative to the Chancellor." Mr. Wynn confesses that he showed "an intemperance and wrong-headedness highly disgraceful. He is highly angry and sulky, and declares that he meant to go out before, but now will stay, to show that he cannot be bullied." Wilberforce, on this debate, says, though he longed to go, he stayed and voted with the majority. "I could not forget the friendly intercourse of former days, when Sir J. Scott used to be a great deal at my house. I saw much of him then; and it is no more than his due to say, that when he was Solicitor and Attorney-general, under Pitt, he never fawned and flattered, as some did, but always assumed the tone and station of a man who was conscious that he must show he



respected himself if he wished to be respected by others." The Lord Chancellor's power of work was immense, and deserves to be commemorated. On one occasion Wilberforce had to speak to Romilly in court. He says—"As I went up to Romilly, old Eldon saw me, and beckoned to me with as much cheerfulness and gaiety as possible. When I was alone with Romilly, and asked how he was, he answered—"I am worn to death; here we have been sitting on, in the vacation, from nine in the morning until four; and when we leave the place, I have to read through all my papers, to be ready for to-morrow morning: but the most extraordinary part of all is, that Eldon, who has not only mine, but all the other business to go through, is just as cheerful and untired as ever."

Another of the old Tories was removed by death. On the 5th of January, 1827, the Duke of York breathed his last, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, to the great regret of the army, whose interests had been ably maintained by his royal highness since his return to the Horse-guards. He had made himself very popular with the high church party, by his "indecent" no-papery speech in the House of Lords—a speech which had been placarded all over London, and which was distributed wholesale by the rector and the country squire. Mr. Wynn writes—"I have been very glad to hear to-day from Freemantle, that the Duchess of Gloucester, on the king's part, disclaims all knowledge of the Duke of York's speech, or participation in his sentiments; and adds, that Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington are extremely angry. The speech is placarded all over the walls, &c.; and I hear, in one place, there is—"Damn the king!—the Duke of York for ever!" This will not tend to reconcile the mind of the former." The king could not last long, said the high churchmen, and then we shall have the Duke of York. It was otherwise decreed. His funeral was conducted in great state. "Few royal princes have been," writes the Duke of Buckingham, "so generally lamented, or left so many memorials of courtesy, liberality, and goodness of heart."

After the death of the duke, the keeper of the king's privy purse was called upon to perform a duty which a less devoted courtier would gladly have avoided. This was to go, in the dead of night, in the bleak month of January, to the vault of St. George's Chapel, Windsor (where the members of the royal family found their last resting-place), with no other light than a solitary torch, and there to select a place for receiving the coffin of the Duke of York. Sir William Knighton describes the scene graphically—the subterranean cemetery, and the various occupants—and never forgot it. He remained in the vault a quarter of an hour, making a careful inspection; and then, not unreluctantly, retraced his steps. The fact was, that the king, remembering the affection that had existed between his deceased brother and his father, was anxious that they should rest together in the tomb as closely as possible; and knowing that he could place the most implicit confidence in Sir William Knighton, entreated him to effect the desired arrangement. It may also be stated here, that, in connexion with his royal father, the duke had rendered himself a little unpopular. When the Duke of York was appointed custos of the poor blind, bereaved, and stricken king, many grumbled, that for such an office the Duke of York was to receive from the state an additional £10,000 a year.

The time had also arrived when Mr. Canning was to enjoy the full fruition of his hopes. In February an attack of paralysis incapacitated the Earl of Liverpool for further official duty, and Canning took his place. It was the price which he claimed, and which his enemies in office were compelled to pay.

Canning's feelings could not have been those of unmixed satisfaction. He himself was sickening for the grave. For some time he had been in a weak state of health; and, standing as a mourner while they buried the Duke of York, in St. George's Chapel, death marked him for its own; and then, for the colleague just hopelessly smitten, he must have felt as he could feel for few other men. They tell us Canning liked to get young men round him: Pitt did the same. But youth is always raw; and it lacks the richness and fulness of an active manhood, or

a ripe old age. In youth's bright morning, when at Christchurch, Mr. Canning formed many friendships; but with none was he so intimate as with the Hon. Mr. Jenkinson. The latter had entered Christchurch in the preceding spring or summer, and they were constantly together. Canning, Jenkinson, and Huskisson were all born in the same year, and entered parliament about the same time. Jenkinson was also one of the contributors to the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, which, as all the world knows, was originated by Canning, who wrote some of its ablest articles. For years Jenkinson (now Lord Liverpool) had kept together a cabinet of discordant materials, whose resignation had been prophesied at least once a month; and his sudden seizure must have made Canning serious, as he looked back to the days when, for them, life was a triumphal march, and not what it had come to be—a scene of disappointment, intrigue, and petty strife; and now he, the dull, honest friend of thirty years, was summoned away from his friends and his fame. Lord Liverpool had not a particle of genius. His control was purely nominal. No one feared, or disliked, or doubted him. The secret of his success consisted in the fact, that he did not possess a single quality to provoke the jealousy or excite the insubordination of his colleagues, and in his ability to surround himself with able men.

On the 12th of April, Mr. Wynn moved the issuing of the Speaker's writ for the election of a member for the borough of Newport, in the room of the Right Hon. George Canning, who had accepted the office of Chief Commissioner of his Majesty's Treasury. During the previous fortnight there had been a great ferment among all parties in the state. Speculations of various degrees were entertained as to the result of Lord Liverpool's retirement. But Mr. Canning's position as a statesman, his influence in the House of Commons, and the great reputation his literary and oratorical talents had procured for him, pointed him out as the most popular Premier that could then be selected. Unfortunately, he was not popular everywhere: indeed, many persons who had enjoyed the most frequent opportunities of knowing him, admired the orator more than they loved the man. Some of them reluctantly worked with him; others found it still more difficult to conceal their dislike; and these were to be found among the most eminent of his political associates.

By members of parliament, and others, the same feeling was entertained. In 1832, long after Canning's death, Wilberforce said—"I knew him well, and he knew that I knew him. He felt that I knew him before he became well acquainted with Pitt. He had a mind susceptible of the forms of great ideas." Old Dr. Parr was violent against him. "I know," he said, in his dogmatic way, "the interior of the man, and I abhor him." Byron speaks of him as "a genius—almost a universal one; an orator, a wit, a poet, and a statesman." In poetry, the noble peer was equally eulogistic. He wrote—

"Yet something may remain, perchance to chime  
With reason; and, what's stronger still, with rhyme.  
Even this, thy genius, Canning, may permit;  
Who, bred a statesman, still was born a wit,  
And never, even in that dull House, could'st tame  
To unleavened prose thine own poetic flame.  
Our last, our best, our only orator;  
E'en I can praise thee."

Sydney Smith's portrait of his brother wit is not flattering. He thus alludes to Mr. Canning, in 1808:—"I can only say, I have listened to him long and often with the greatest attention. I have used every exertion in my power to take a fair measure of him; and it appears to me impossible to hear him upon any arduous topic without perceiving that he is completely deficient in those solid and serious qualities upon which, and which alone, the confidence of a great country can properly repose. He sweats, and labours, and works for sense; and Mr. Ellis always seems to think it is coming, but it does not come; the machine can't draw up what



is not to be found in the spring. Providence has made him a light, jesting, paragraph-writing man, and that he will remain to the end of the chapter. When he is jocular he is strong; when he is serious he is like Sampson in a wig; any ordinary person is a match for him. A song; an ironical letter; a burlesque ode; an attack in a newspaper on Mr. Nicholl's eyes; a smart speech of twenty minutes, full of gross misrepresentations and excellent turns; a spirited manner; lucky quotations; success in provoking dull men; some half-information, picked up in Pall Mall in the morning;—these are your friend's natural weapons. All these things he can do: here I allow him to be truly great; nay, I will be just, and go further still: if he would confine himself to these things, and consider the playful and the facile to be the basis of his character, he would, for that species of man, be universally allowed to be a person of a very good understanding. Call him a legislator, a reasoner, and the conductor of the affairs of a great nation, and it seems to me as absurd as if a butterfly were to teach bees to make honey. That he is an extraordinary writer of small poetry, and a diner-out of the highest order, I do most readily admit. After George Selwyn, and, perhaps, Tickell, there has been no such man for this half century."

Wilberforce implies that Canning was wise in his generation, and was indebted for a great deal of his popularity to the newspaper editors. At any rate, it must be admitted that he had few friendships with his colleagues, or the official class; they considered his talents in debate indispensable to their party, but they complained of his lust of power, his arrogance; and certainly did not appreciate his patriotism higher than their own. In 1825, when Canning was loudly protesting his devotion to the Catholic cause, one of the Duke of Buckingham's correspondents writes—"Every one who knows anything, knows that it was not the Catholic question, but general aversion to his personal character, which rendered his success at Oxford impossible. He himself feels, that if it be true that he did not join in the no-popery cry, he partook of the prey with the rest of the hounds, and kept his disapprobation to himself." On the slavery question he was more than a match for Wilberforce, though professing earnestly the wish to aid him; and his foreign policy, of which so much has been said, and for which so much may be said, was certainly as much the result of pique as principle." The Duke of Buckingham intimates, that a careful attention to the correspondence he has published, will show that Canning endeavoured, by taking as opposite a course possible as that adopted by his predecessor and former rival, to throw discredit on his ideas and measures. "The feeling," he adds, "that was at the bottom of this conduct, arose from his recollection of the failure of his scheme to raise himself at the expense of Lord Castlereagh, and the humiliation and enforced absence from office which followed its exposure."

But let us return to the situation. As soon as Canning had obtained the king's command to form an administration, he wrote to his colleagues individually, apprising them of his having been so honoured, and courteously expressing his desire that the public service might still enjoy the advantages it had derived from the exercise of their administrative talents. In the document there was an important omission. No mention was made of the chief office of the government to which they were invited to belong; they could scarcely, however, have been in ignorance what such a communication implied. Yet only one of the ministers (Lord Bexley) returned a frank avowal of willingness to retain his position. Lord Westmoreland replied, stating his inability to give a decided answer to Mr. Canning's proposition till he knew who was to be his leader; and a similar reply came from the Duke of Wellington, Lords Eldon, Bathurst, and Melville, and Mr. Peel. The new Premier lost no time in forwarding the required information, apologising for the omission. Communications were presently returned, expressing disinclination to form part of a cabinet which could not work in harmony. In short, directly it became clearly understood that they were expected to serve under Mr. Canning, the entire administration, with very few exceptions, retired.

The task of reconstruction proceeded. The first appointment—that of the Duke of Clarence as Lord High Admiral—was popular. Sir John Copley, as Baron Lyndhurst, was promoted to the woolsack; and then the Premier turned to his natural allies, the Whigs. He found them accessible; they could have no objection to serve under a leader who was friendly to some of their favourite measures. “If the Whigs do not give Canning active support,” observes the Duke of Buckingham, “Canning will not stand; and they will not give active support unless employed.” As to the Whigs, they had either to join Canning in carrying their own measures, or to remain out of office altogether. A pure Whig administration was not to be dreamt of for an instant. “That the Whigs, as a party, will never succeed to power,” wrote Mr. Plumer Ward, a year or two previously, “seems to be the opinion of all my friends, however divided among themselves.”

Parliament met on the 1st of May, and it was manifest what a wonderful change had taken place, the ministerial benches being filled by the opposition leaders and their supporters. Explanations soon followed, in which Mr. Canning took a prominent part, disclaiming any knowledge of the cause of the hostility he had excited in his late colleagues; expressing himself, throughout his speech, in a tone of moderation, and announcing that the Catholic question stood exactly as it did in 1812, by which he admitted that the new cabinet was a little more in unison on the subject than the old one. In the House of Lords, other explanations were given; the Duke of Wellington, Lords Eldon and Bathurst, denying any concert in their resignations; and, for several days, both Houses were employed in discussions respecting the break-up of the late government. The same subject was taken up out of doors quite as warmly. On the 8th of May, at a public dinner of the clergy of London, the Bishop of London stated, that shortly after the late ministerial changes, the king had sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself, and directed him to make known to the clergy, that his sentiments on the coronation oath and the Catholic question were those his revered father, George III., and lamented brother, the Duke of York, had maintained during their lives, and which he himself had professed when Prince of Wales, and which nothing could shake; finally assuring them that the recent ministerial arrangements were the result of circumstances, to his majesty equally unforeseen and unpleasant.

If the high-church and Tory party were alarmed, equally so were the sturdy dissenters and Liberals, represented by the *Eclectic Review* and John Foster. The latter, in a letter to Mr. Easthope (afterwards Sir John), M.P., writes—“Can you be perfectly free from all suspicion that there is some shrewd turn of the *black art* in the case, when you—the whole tribe of you—patriots, reformers, and democrats, and what not, find yourselves suddenly transported through the air from your warlike position in *front* of Canning, to a station of alliance and fighting co-operation beside him and behind him; while he has not made so much as a hypocritical profession of any change of principles or measures? The riddance of a good quantity of the most rotten aristocracy from the administration is most plainly a good thing so far. But we folks, who are at a distance from the grand central monopoly of wisdom—and, therefore, of slow and obtuse intellects—cannot well comprehend this zealous coalition of the avowed enemies of all corruption, with a minister who has been, at all times and seasons, its friend and defender; and, more than so, fairly tells them, as if in scorn of their gullibility, that he will continue in the old course, explicitly flouting, beforehand, their parliamentary reform, their attempts on behalf of dissenters, and such like. To *us* it really seems as if this odd sort of league is made at the sole expense of what had been thought the wiser and better-meaning party; and that the reformers, the economists, &c., are consenting to forego all their best projects, and even principles, for the honour of being denominated ‘his honourable friends.’ The nation, truly, is to be a mighty gainer by this famous compact!

“But Catholic emancipation! Catholic emancipation!—why, yes, very well so



far, if that, even so much as *that* were in any likelihood to be effected : but this worthy minister has consented to abandon even that to its feeble and remote chance. For, as left to its own shifts, what chance has it in the Lords?

"But, even supposing this most virtuous and patriotic minister, backed by his scores of converts and new friends, could, would, and did carry this measure; what then? Will he alleviate the oppressive burdens of the country? Will he cut down the profligate and enormous expenditure of the government? Will he blow up a single rotten borough? Will he rout out that infernal Court of Chancery? Will he do anything towards creating an effective police through the country, every part of which is, every night, in complete exposure to attacks of plunderers and ruffians? Or, to glance abroad, will he do anything for Greece, or anything, to real or effectual purpose, for what is named the Peninsula? Nay, will he do anything, at last, for even amendment of the West Indies, which he has palavered so much about? No; nothing of all this. So that the good of having got this same admirable Prime Minister consists in the good he will not do." Thus did the new minister appear to the Radical reformers.

Under such unpromising circumstances, the Premier summoned the first cabinet council to assemble at his own residence, on the 20th of May. The cabinet included Lords Lyndhurst, Harrowby, Bexley, Dudley, and Ward; Duke of Portland, Marquis of Anglesea, and Messrs. Canning, Wynn, Huskisson, and Borne. Orders and dignities were showered on influential members of the new government and its supporters. Mr. Robinson had been created Viscount Goderich; Sir Charles Abbot, Baron Tenterden; and Mr. Plunket, Baron Plunket. The Earl of Carlisle was made First Commissioner of Woods and Forests; and Mr. Tierney, Master of the Mint; while knighthood promotions and preferments abounded.

These changes in no way affected the subject of this memoir. We still find him at his old post. "I have heard," writes Mr. Wynn to the Duke of Buckingham, "nothing lately about Lord Palmerston; but, from all accounts, his re-election for Cambridge is so doubtful (to say the least of it), that I fully expect him to withdraw from it into the upper house." This was written in 1825. We cannot imagine Lord Palmerston as wishing to be there. He knew his place, and kept it to the last.

Of his speeches on Catholic emancipation we shall have to speak soon. Let us now refer to the peculiar duties of his office. A Colonel Allen had been deprived, by the War Office, of twelve months of his seniority. Palmerston's defence, when the matter came before the Commons, was, that the right of dismissing officers without courts-martial, was "a power held, not for the benefit of the crown, but for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people." Certainly, if his view was right, no case stronger than that of this colonel could arise. And it seems surprising that it was the rigour, and not the leniency, of the punishment inflicted upon him that was complained of. Within a very short interval Allen had flogged seventy-nine of his men, inflicting 4,817 lashes. This was in direct opposition to the order of his general, that no punishment should be inflicted until the offence and sentence had been reported to him. Men had received twenty-five lashes for having blank cartridges in their pockets instead of their cartouche-boxes. Another had been flogged because "he went from the carry to the support;" that is, supported his firelock in the ranks with the angle of the arm, instead of the palm of his hand. Another had been punished for "levelling his piece!"

"One would suppose," said Palmerston, "from the wording of this charge, that a mutiny had taken place in the regiment, and that this man had levelled his musket, charged to the muzzle, at his commanding officer. But the fact was, that the unsoldier-like conduct complained of was 'for levelling his piece in the air when the regiment was practising with blank ammunition.' It appeared that the offender, instead of levelling with mathematical precision, had presented his piece in an angular direction, towards the horizon. Now, when an individual who had exerted his authority for the punishment of such trifles, came forward and complained of

severity, could the House be expected to interfere? *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione quarentes?*"

The same general question of dismissal without court-martial was again introduced by Colonel Davies, in the discussion of the Mutiny Bill. The colonel's speech drew from the War Secretary this, among other emphatic utterances:—

"According to the amendment, the House would create a fourth estate in the kingdom, and convert the army into a power most dangerous for the country. Instead of being subordinate to the proper authority, and incorporated with the practice of our constitution, the army would be changed into a corps of Mamelukes, who would very soon overthrow the laws, and annihilate all power but their own."

One thing now is clear—Lord Palmerston's nervousness and fear of failure had left him. He was becoming a frequent speaker in the House, and on subjects not connected with his own department. Thus, on the occasion of a vote for new churches—a vote considered quite unnecessary in some quarters—his lordship, in advocating it, said—

"It is my wish that the established church should be the predominant one in this country; for nothing, I am persuaded, can tend more to the general tranquillity and happiness of a people, than a community of sentiment, as far as it can be obtained without intolerance to any party, in matters of religious doctrine."

Forty years before the achievement of the long-talked-of plan for the embankment of the Thames, Palmerston thus expressed himself:—"Every man who had been in Dublin and Paris, spoke in praise of their quays, and drew comparisons to the disadvantage of London. Foreigners said—'Well, we have seen your town, but where is the Thames?'"

In 1826, he presented a petition from the University of Cambridge against slavery, and expressed his conviction that it was "in vain for the colonial legislatures to think that, however they might retard, they could ultimately defeat a measure supported by the concurrent sentiments of the people of Great Britain. If they persevered in their resistance, they might raise against themselves such a storm of public opinion as no prudent man would wish to encounter."

But we must hasten to chronicle the close of the Canning administration—an administration which had been a nine days' wonder. Old Eldon writes—"The whole conversation in town is made up of abusive—bitterly abusive—talk of people about each other—all fire and flame: I have known nothing like it. I think political enmity runs higher, and waxes warmer, than ever I knew it." A spectator said, when the Premier went down to the House of Commons, "people were as anxious to see Canning, as if a change of his person had accompanied his change of place." And such, undoubtedly, there was to be. Canning was taken seriously ill about the end of the summer, and breathed his last on the 8th of August, at the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick—dying, as it has been stated, in the very same room in which Fox had, under circumstances strikingly similar.

It is unfortunate for Canning's fair fame, that he was not allowed time to consolidate his power, or develop those administrative talents which he was known to possess. His admirers generally were loud in their congratulations that he did not go to India when appointed Governor-general, a little before the death of Lord Londonderry; but the Duke of Buckingham inclines to the opinion that his genius might have there found far more scope for development than it met with in the higher, yet more restricted position, of Foreign Secretary and First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Dudley writes—"Canning, it seems, is to be Governor-general. It is impossible to say that this is the most natural or desirable termination to the career of the most distinguished speaker in the English parliament; but I have no doubt that the appointment is a most fortunate one for the country he is sent to govern."



Canning's funeral took place at Westminster Abbey, where he was buried at the foot of Mr. Pitt's tomb, on the 16th of August. It was attended by the members of the royal family, the cabinet ministers, the foreign ambassadors, and a number of political and personal friends. There was no savage yell from the mob when Canning was borne to his last, long home. A peerage was conferred upon his widow.

Lord Palmerston defended his late Premier to the last. When a public provision for the family was opposed in the Commons, Palmerston replied—"His name would be venerated long after his doctrines had been consigned to oblivion. As to the plea of economy, the setting it up on the occasion was calculated to disgust the House with the very name." Few had the generous enthusiasm of Palmerston; for Canning became extinct at a later period. In the course of the reform debates, Lord Palmerston thus vindicated his consistency as a reformer and disciple of Canning; and paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the latter:—"Taunts have been thrown out in the course of this night's debate against those who, like myself, were the admirers of Mr. Canning. We have been taunted for abandoning the principles which he supported with respect to the important question of reform. Sir, I should have thought that events which have happened within these walls since the lamented death of that great and illustrious man, might have taught those from whom those taunts have proceeded a humbler and a juster estimate of the extent to which this sort of consistency ought to be carried. I should have thought that such men might have learned from examples, which they will be not less disposed than I am to respect, that public men may change their opinions upon questions of great public importance, without any other motive than an honourable, I will say a noble, regard for their country's good. I should have thought these persons might have learned that it is not the duty of a public man in this House to carry what I will call the private vanity of consistency of opinion to such an extent, as to sacrifice to it the interest and safety of his country. As to my own opinions, I have stated them. What the opinions of Mr. Canning would have been in the present day, had he been spared to the country, I will not take upon me to say; but they are bad expounders of the opinions of Mr. Canning who look only to the particular sentiments which he may have expressed in particular times, without fathoming the depth of the great principle by which the whole course of his public life was guided. If ever there was a man who took great and enlarged views of human affairs, that man was Mr. Canning. If ever there was a man who, as it were, polarised his opinions by universal and all-pervading principles of action, that man was, undoubtedly, Mr. Canning: and when our assailants on this question would endeavour to pin down his gigantic mind by the Lilliputian threads of verbal quotation, I repudiate, in his name, the conclusions which they would draw; and I feel convinced that, if he had been standing here now, his mighty genius would have embraced within its comprehensive grasp, all the various necessities upon which our own conclusions have been founded, and that he would, in all probability, have stated to the House, with powers, alas! how different from those of any now within these walls! the same opinions which I venture humbly to submit. If any man wants a key to the opinions of Mr. Canning, let him consult the concluding passage of his speech on the 24th of February, 1826, as applicable to the present occasion as to that upon which it was delivered; in which he says, that 'they who resist improvement because it is innovation, may find themselves compelled to accept innovation when it has ceased to be improvement.'"

Lord Goderich (nicknamed, by Cobbett, Prosperity Robinson) succeeded. Under Lord Liverpool he had been for a short time Chancellor of the Exchequer; but he was quite unfitted, by his helplessness and ignorance, for his post. "From the first, all men perceived," writes Mr. Roebuck, "that the new administration was destined to an early end. The Premier, though possessed of respectable abilities, and fitted to act the part of a useful subordinate, was wholly without the influence

needed in the chief of an administration. The consequence was, that the subordinates quarrelled and broke up the cabinet. An idle question of etiquette between Mr. Tierney and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, led to the sudden resignation both of Mr. Herries and Mr. Huskisson. The unhappy Premier, frightened at his own incapacity, and by the difficulties of his position, immediately followed the example of his colleagues, and returned his dangerous honours to the king, begging permission to resign. The king at once graciously acceded to the noble lord's request, and commanded the Duke of Wellington to form a new administration." In 1823, Mr. Robinson was welcomed in the cabinet as "a decided improvement upon poor Van (the retiring Chancellor of the Exchequer), both in manner and popularity with the House. He is a man of sense and judgment, though, perhaps, deficient in energy." Such was the opinion of his contemporaries, who had a higher opinion of him than Mr. Roebuck.

The immediate changes in the ministry, caused by the death of Canning, were—Viscount Goderich to be First Lord of the Treasury, and the Duke of Portland Lord President of the Council; while Lord William Bentinck and Mr. Herries were sworn of the Privy Council. These announcements were made on the 17th of August; and, on the 22nd, the Duke of Wellington was gazetted as Commander-in-Chief. The government was then speedily arranged: Mr. Herries taking office as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Huskisson, Colonial Secretary; Mr. C. Grant, President of the Board of Trade, and Treasurer of the Navy. In the other offices there were no important alterations. "The result, as it now stands," writes Mr. Freemantle to the Duke of Buckingham, "promises permanence, so *I hear*, though I cannot think that all parties could have been satisfied. It is a decided victory against the Whigs, though, it must be admitted, on a matter on which they could not have resorted to the extent of quitting the government. The character of the government is now exclusively, I might almost say, Canningite, having got rid of its chief, who had become so personally objectionable. The resumption of the Duke of Wellington in command paralyses his opposition, and, of course, weakens the phalanx in your House. It also very much subdues the opposition of that part of the Whigs who were so violent against him last session. \* \* \* I hear the different members of the government are perfectly satisfied with each other; that is, I mean that Lord Lansdowne is content with all that is done by Lord Goderich. The ground of greatest satisfaction to the Whigs arose from the immediate decision taken to retain the government as it stood, and, under no circumstances but that of dire necessity, to have recourse to the Tories. There never was the slightest advance towards them. I have never had the slightest conversation, in any quarter of authority and influence, during or since these transactions. The whole was managed with great prudence and temper. The great object of the opposition now is, to preserve their strength in your House. I doubt if they will be enabled to do this. The opening of the parliament will be a trying scene for the new government; but if they have the full support (which I know they have), I have not the smallest doubt of their standing; and should they get through one session, they are fixed for a period."

Apparently, never had a government a fairer chance of longevity. Yet it was no sooner formed than it fell to pieces. A succession of fusions had been attempted, till the administration had been so thoroughly charged with Whigism, that the genuine Tory element was not very clearly perceptible. The Goderich experiment appears to have been the shortest and most unsatisfactory of the series; and then recourse was had to the original material, from whence the fabric derived its reputation. The Duke of Wellington was placed, as we have stated, at the Horse-guards: it proved a convenient stepping-stone to the Treasury; for Mr. Canning's successor, finding the task he had undertaken above his strength, gave in his resignation; and now the duke commenced his political life as a leader. Hitherto he had been a subordinate. Viscount Goderich, in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, says—"The circumstances which have occurred, and which



have produced a change in the administration, were of a nature to render it impossible for me to continue at the head of government, without being compelled to remodel it under principles different from those upon which alone I undertook, originally, to conduct it. I did not see the possibility of being able to conduct it under the peculiar circumstances in which parties now stand in this country, with any reasonable prospect of success; and this state of things led the king to feel it to be necessary to consult the Duke of Wellington, and to entrust to his grace the new arrangement which might become necessary. Nothing is at present known as to the shape which matters will take; but it seems to me evident, from what I hear, that the duke's object is to form a government upon as wide a basis as circumstances may permit; and certainly not to confine himself to those who marked their hostility to the administrations which succeeded Lord Liverpool." To this new administration the Whigs did not approximate; and against it, "the ultra-Tories, at the head of whom is Lord Eldon," are described as outrageous. Nor were other parties in the state disposed to look with very favourable eyes on the new administration. The Right Hon. Thomas Grenville writes—"My original objections to the formation of a government concocted out of the army list and the ultra-Tories, are quite insuperable on constitutional principles alone; neither is there any instance, since the revolution, of any government so adverse, in its formation, to all the free principles and practice of our constitution; neither am I reconciled to it by the little tricks which I think I have traced in it; nor by the sort of double conduct, which is intended to allure both parties, without substantial promise to either."

An event occurred at this time that created considerable amusement, and, in a remarkable way, showed the military manner in which the Duke of Wellington was disposed to carry on his government. A bill for disfranchising East Retford was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons. Mr. Huskisson thought proper to vote in opposition to Mr. Peel, the ministerial leader in the House, on the question of transferring the elective franchise to Birmingham; and after the division, about two o'clock in the morning (May 26th, 1828), he wrote a letter to the duke, announcing what he had done, and expressing his inclination to resign, "to prevent the injury to the king's service which may ensue from the appearance of disunion in his majesty's councils." From his subsequent explanation in the House of Commons, it appears, that whatever he wrote, he did not mean the communication to be taken as a resignation. But the duke insisted upon interpreting the document literally, and accepted the surrender forthwith. Lord Dudley first, and then Lord Palmerston, waited upon the duke, confirming Huskisson's view, and pointing out the mistake. But the duke emphatically replied—"It is no mistake; it can be no mistake; and it shall be no mistake."

From this event ensued—fortunately for Palmerston's future fame—his secession from the Wellington administration. Lord Palmerston had voted with Huskisson; and when the matter came on for discussion in the House of Commons, he stated his intention to resign, because his colleague was no longer in the ministry. He agreed with Huskisson in the opinion which led to the difference. It was as an enemy of electoral reform that he supported the transfer of the franchise to such large places as Birmingham, for thereby, he held, the mouths of the more clamorous reformers were stopped, and the necessity of more sweeping measures avoided.

These resignations necessitated further changes. On the 21st, the official programme was thus announced:—Arthur, Duke of Wellington, First Lord of the Treasury; Robert, Viscount Melville, Right Hon. Robert Peel, Earl of Aberdeen, and Sir George Murray, Secretaries of State; Right Hon. H. Goulbourn, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Wallace, Right Hon. John Sullivan, Lord Ashley, Marquis of Graham, Lawrence Peel, Esq., and the Right Hon. T. P. Courtenay, Commissioners for the Affairs of India: the Marquis of Anglesea was gazetted Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Ellenborough as Privy Seal. The Tories were delighted. They had the duke at the helm, and that was enough. There

was no fear of the Iron Duke; he never would give way. Wilberforce tells us, in 1828, he called on Southey, and found him anticipating civil war. On the contrary, Wilberforce thought the ministry would give way to the Catholics, as they did in 1782. To which Southey replied, that the administration of 1782 was weak; "but *now*, the Duke of Wellington," said he, stretching out his arm stiffly, and pulling up his sleeve—"ha! the duke is a great man."

Hundreds of years ago there was a Danish king in this country, called Canute. His courtiers would fain have had him believe that it was in his power to stop the rising tide. In a very simple manner, by ordering his seat to be placed by the sea, he demonstrated the absurdity of the idea. In the political world such absurdities are constantly repeated by the foolish and fanatic. Put So-and-so in office, and the tide will be stopped; and So-and-so is put in office, and what is the result? That he has either to give way, or is swept away. The age is stronger than the individual. Humanity is greater and grander than a party or a sect. The Tories trusted in George III.; but he died: then all their hope was centred in the son; but his indolence and gout rendered him, latterly, a king but in name: and now the constitution is safe, for have we not got the Iron Duke? We shall see that he can no more stop the rising tide of Liberal opinion, than could Dame Partington sweep back the Atlantic.

" Our little systems have their day ;  
They have their day, and cease to be."

## CHAPTER XIX.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

IN France the party of reaction was omnipotent.

To invade Spain on behalf of legitimacy, and to restore the *prestige* of the French army, were their aims.

The French king's speech, on opening the chambers, revealed the real intentions of the government.

At the congress of Verona, as we have already said, Mr. Canning, by means of the Duke of Wellington, had protested against that invasion.

"The blindness," said the King of the French, on the 28th of January, 1823, as he opened the session of the French Chambers—"the blindness with which my representations made at Madrid have been rejected, leave me but few hopes of preserving peace. I have ordered the recall of our minister: 100,000 soldiers, commanded by a prince of my family, whom it delights my heart to call my son, are ready to march, invoking the name of St. Louis to preserve the throne of Spain to a descendant of Henry IV.; to save that fine kingdom from ruin; and to reconcile it with Europe. If war is inevitable, I will use my best endeavours to limit its circle, and shorten its duration. It will only be undertaken to conquer that peace which the present state of Spain renders impossible. Let Ferdinand VII. be free to give his people those institutions which they can only hold from him, and which, by insuring the repose, will dissipate the just uneasiness of France; and from that moment hostilities shall cease." In a few weeks after, the French, under the Duke d'Angoulême, were in Spain. The Spaniards, while fighting in support of a "popular" constitution, and in defence of "popular" rights, had the mortification of knowing that the "popular" feeling was not with them. A report made to the Cortes early in the year, acknowledged that the great majority of the people were hostile to their cause; the rural population (instigated,



probably, by the priests) having always been so; while the enthusiasm once displayed at Madrid and the seaports, was sensibly dying away. The French were successful; the wretched Ferdinand—who would make a hundred promises a day, and break them, as the Duke d'Angoulême complained—was set free; and Spain was delivered up to the incurable tyranny of her king.

England remained neutral, though many ardent patriots were disappointed, and could not reconcile themselves to the complete setting at naught of our glorious Peninsular campaign, nor to the triumph of a Bourbon where a Bonaparte had failed. Mr. Canning's position was impregnable. The principle on which Louis XVIII. proceeded to make war, was that which makes constitutional rights emanate from the king. Against this principle Mr. Canning entered a dignified protest. "If," said he, "the speech were to be construed, that the free institutions of the Spanish people could only be legitimately held from the spontaneous gifts of the sovereign, first restored to absolute power, and then divesting himself of such portion of that power as he might think proper to part with, it was a principle to which the Spanish nation could not be expected to submit, nor could any British statesman uphold or defend it. It was, indeed, a principle which struck at the root of the British constitution." In his *Memoirs*, Chateaubriand says—"Cobbett was the only person in England who, at this period, undertook our defence; who did us justice; who judged calmly both of the necessity of our intervention in Spain, and of the view we had to restore to France the strength of which it had been deprived. Happily *he* did not divine our entire plan, which was to break through, or modify the treaties of Vienna, and to establish Bourbon monarchies in South America. Had he discerned this, and lifted the veil, he would have exposed France to great danger."

The most popular thing Mr. Canning did, and that on which he most prided himself, was the recognition of the South American republics, which had long shaken off the feeble yoke of the mother country. It is not true that he called them into existence; but his recognition was a great aid to them. It was a gain to the cause of freedom; for it was an acknowledgment of the right of insurrection—a bold thing to do at that time. Were we to go to war with France because her army entered Spain? "No," said Mr. Canning, "I looked another way: I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved, that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." The independence of the Spanish colonies in South America was very popular with the public. Many years before, when the struggle between Spain and her distant possessions had only commenced, Lord Grenville was canvassed for his opinion on the propriety of Great Britain assisting the colonists to throw off the yoke of the mother country; but he declined to interfere in a domestic quarrel. When Mr. Canning, for the second time, obtained the seals of the Foreign Office, liberal measures were the order of the day, and the British empire was made to throw its weight into the scale against a state which it had, a few years before, made extraordinary exertions to defend. The Duke of Wellington is described, by Mr. Plumer Ward, "as furious against recognition." "I can only say," said Lord Hertford, in answer to the question, if he thought Canning would say anything in the House relative to South American recognition?—"if he does, it will be his death-warrant." The Grenville party denied, however, that this recognition was any admission of the principle of insurrection. North America had set the example, and our commercial interests required us to do the same. As Mr. Wynn remarked—"The trade carried on with South America is too important an object to be hazarded." The government of Buenos Ayres had now been established fifteen years; there was no appearance of any Spanish party without its dominions; nor the most distant chance of the mother country recovering it. It was, *de facto*, independent, and carried on with Great Britain an increasing trade. The same argument applied to Mexico. With respect to Peru

and Chili, it was confessed that the government were not so firmly established. In the quarrel we had remained neutral. At the first outbreak of the colonies, numbers of young men volunteered to leave England to fight on their behalf. Mr. Canning would not allow this. He brought in a bill to prohibit their interference, which he declared would be a direct violation of our treaty with Spain.

The vast possessions of Spain in America were originally divided into two vice-royalties, Mexico and Peru; the former extending far into the northern continent, and the latter deeply penetrating into the south. These immense tracts of continent were re-divided for purposes of government. Peru was parcelled out, at different times, into the vice-royalties, or captain-generalship, of New Grenada; Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres; Venezuela, Chili, Guatemala, Havannah, and Porto Rico. The original inhabitants of these regions did not fade away before the Europeans, but submitted to, and intermingled with them. The Creoles, or offspring of this mixture, were almost universally, though not legally, excluded from public employment; and were treated as badly by the ruling classes as the Indians themselves. Misfortune makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows; and, in time, the Creoles joined the Indians in their revolt against common cruelties and injustice. A long and bloody struggle ensued, and the republics of Mexico, La Plata, Chili, Bolivia, Columbia, and Paraguay, were in a degree established, but in a miserable fashion. If Canning called them into existence, he had little reason to be proud of his handiwork.

The prolongation of the contest, which raged, without intermission, from 1810 to 1825, utterly ruined the mines of South America, and brought down the annual supply of precious metals, for the use of the globe, from ten millions to three millions annually. And what has been the gain to Europe or to us? Lord Palmerston, on one occasion, in his place in parliament, declared that Great Britain, between 1820 and 1840, had advanced £150,000,000, in loans, to the popular states and republics of Spain and South America; nearly the whole of which had been lost. "If to this we add," writes Sir A. Alison, "the dreadful losses consequent on the monetary crisis of 1825, the direct consequence of the speculation entered into in 1824, by British capitalists in South America, at a time when our currency at home was rendered entirely dependent on our retention of the daily declining supplies of gold, we shall have a loss of £300,000,000 sterling inflicted upon Great Britain."

It is, however, one great consolation to us to think that, at any rate, little of British blood has been poured out in the miserable squabbles of these wretched governments. We have not forgotten our melancholy escapade in Buenos Ayres, where, in 1806, General Whitelocke marched into the town, and, at a loss of 2,500 men, got himself into a fix such as few British commanders were ever in. It is true Whitelocke, on his return to England, was cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity. But, perhaps, it was as well that such a mischance occurred. Under English rule, the lawlessness which has marked the whole history of the South American republics would have existed, and they would have been a perpetual source of annoyance and trouble. It is to be questioned whether the French emperor, by this time, does not begin to think that it was a pity he ever interfered in Mexican affairs.

Let us return to Europe.

The hostile attitude which France assumed towards Spain gave serious alarm to the Portuguese government; and a formal application was made to the British cabinet, to know whether they could rely on the alliance of Great Britain in case of an invasion. "The ministry of England has just replied," said the Portuguese foreign minister, "that the British government, having solemnly declared, in the face of Europe, that it does not presume to attribute to itself a right to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, considers itself bound to give to this kingdom every succour of which it may stand in need, should its independence appear to be threatened in any mode, or by any power whatever."



Portugal was in an unsettled state; Brazil had become separated from the mother country; and, at home, the king (John VI.) and the ministry succeeded in overthrowing the constitution, and restoring despotic power. His son, Don Miguel, and the queen, were not satisfied with this, and devised a plan for deposing the king, and placing Don Miguel on the throne. This was the easier to effect, as the latter was placed at the head of the army. The ambassadors of France and England interfered: Don Miguel was removed from his high office; the king repaired on board an English ship of war, then lying in the Tagus, where, for a time, he established the seat of government: Don Miguel was sent on his travels; the queen was placed under surveillance; and the king, on his return to Lisbon, declared his intention to restore the ancient political constitution of England—the Cortes, composed of the three estates of the kingdom—the clergy, the nobility, and the people—which had not been convoked for more than a century.

The King of Portugal died on the 10th of March, 1826, and the crown descended to the next heir, Don Pedro, who was at the head of affairs in Brazil. By the constitution of the latter country, it had been declared that the two crowns should never be united on the same head. If, therefore, Don Pedro accepted the crown of Brazil, it was incumbent upon him to renounce that of Portugal. He did so: he abdicated in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria, a girl seven years old. It was made a condition, on her coming of age, that she should marry Don Miguel, it being supposed that this step would obviate any danger that might be apprehended from the faction of Don Miguel and the queen-dowager. An amnesty was granted for political offences, and a new constitution was promised to the mother country. At first all went on smoothly enough. Don Miguel took the oath unconditionally to the constitutional charter, and applied to the pope, for the purpose of obtaining the necessary dispensation for solemnising the intended marriage. The constitution was received and proclaimed, with great pomp, in Lisbon, where, for three days, the city was one continued scene of festivity and rejoicing. In the provinces, too, a similar feeling was manifested.

But the ultra-royalists, headed by the queen-dowager, were discontented, and they steadily intrigued to place Don Miguel on the throne. It was by means of the military, the wealth of Chaves (a nobleman of great possessions and influence in the northern parts of the kingdom), and the power of the priesthood, that they trusted to succeed. Matters were further complicated by the ill-timed interference of Spain.

Spain, at that time, had sunk into the lowest state of degradation and exhaustion. Legitimacy had been restored; and a curse came with it. A *pasquinade*, published in spite of the vigilance of the police of Madrid, is a description of the state of Spain:—"Nothing is wanting to thy happiness, my dear country. Thou hast monks and locusts (the police); ports without ships; troops without breeches; a brilliant priesthood; high-roads infested by banditti; an exhausted treasury; the country divided into parties of all colours; a king who is not ignorant of it, but who does not dare to do anything; a paper currency, which is worth more than it ought to be. Nothing was wanting to thee but a holy year; and the pope has granted it." Under her feeble king, embroidering petticoats for the Virgin Mary, Spain was a mockery and a by-word. The Moor, as in the days of old, ravaged her shores. Her merchantmen were captured in her very harbours. Fallen was she, indeed, from her high estate!

The establishment of a constitutional government in Portugal was a sad offence to the Spanish Ferdinand. He was annoyed at the recognition of Brazil by Portugal; but that was a minor evil, compared with the establishment of a constitution. It jeopardised his power, institutions, and priesthood. It was a most alarming precedent, and to be put down at any price. The clergy would have hurried him at once into war; but Spain was not in a condition for that. He next appealed to the powers of Europe.

The latter were as despotically inclined as himself. Mr. H. Wynn, writing from Stuttgart, in 1824, to the Duke of Buckingham, says—"The Emperor of Russia and the other sovereigns still bother us; but they, at last, seem to be getting tired of it, and to find that the presence of their ministers is not considered, by the king or people, as sufficient advantage to give up a form of government with which they are both equally satisfied. Metternich sees the impossibility of doing away with the constitutional governments, and seems now to have modified his views to preventing the publicity of the debates. In this he will likewise possibly fail. You may conceive in what a state of thralldom the press is, when you hear that the Austrian *chargé d'affaires* complained the other day, at my table, of the ill-conduct of the censor of the press, in having allowed the insertion of an attack reflecting on the partition of Poland. All historical works must now be modelled to the tastes of the sovereigns, or we shall have the Emperor of Austria making representations to the government, of allowing the Tübingen students to read works reflecting, in an improper manner, on his great predecessor, Julius Cæsar." Well might Mr. Canning declare, in the House of Commons, that his immediate object at Verona, was to prevent a war with Spain, growing out of "an assumed jurisdiction of the congress; and keeping within bounds that *areopagatical* spirit which was beyond the sphere of the original conception and understood principles of the alliance."

The European powers, undoubtedly, as much disliked constitutionalism as Ferdinand himself. But they refused to interfere, because of England.

Ferdinand, however, continued in his designs. He persisted in refusing to acknowledge the new Portuguese government; and proceeded to acts of covert hostility, never dreaming that England would do more than remonstrate. Treaties existed between the two countries, by which Spain was bound to disarm, and give up, all deserters who crossed the frontiers. Instead of this being the case, they were now furnished with a secure asylum; were armed, organised, and provisioned, and sent back to invade the country from which they had deserted. A whole regiment, in this manner, abandoned the fortress of Almeida, and waited in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo for orders to invade the frontier. Other troops did the same. They acted as if they formed a Spanish army, and Spain was at war with Portugal. They proclaimed Don Miguel king, and the queen-dowager regent during his absence. Under these circumstances, the British minister remonstrated, in very strong terms, against the conduct of the Spanish Court; declaring that an army of Portuguese rebels, equipped and paid by Spain, would be treated by England as a Spanish army. These remonstrances, however, appear to have produced but little effect. For months Ferdinand continued this unsatisfactory conduct, refusing to acknowledge the regency, and affording active assistance to the rebels. The British minister made, every day, more urgent and menacing remonstrances, and declared that unless justice were immediately done to Portugal, he would demand his passports. France disavowed the conduct of her minister, and threatened to take away the French troops then guarding the capital. Yet Ferdinand seemed determined to go on with his projects, still hiding them under false promises and assertions. When he knew that an invasion had commenced, and that the rebels were in Portugal, his minister made great lamentations that they should have abused the confidence of the Spanish authorities, and offered to send them all out of Spain.

Matters now became serious. When the last grand invasion of rebels from Spain took place, the British government felt that it was time to interfere. Accordingly, in December, 1826, the Portuguese minister, the Marquis de Palmella, made a formal application to Mr. Canning, "in the name of her highness the Infanta Regent of Portugal, for the support and aid of British troops, in virtue of the treaties of alliance and guarantee which have existed in full force between the two crowns, without interruption, for more than a century and a-half." The ministers waited a few days, to watch the conduct of Spain; and on the 11th



of December, a message from the king was communicated to parliament. Mr. Canning's speech on the occasion was received with loud cheers on all sides of the House; and the address was seconded by Sir Robert Wilson, who, however, thought that France should march her troops out of Spain, as a first step to the defence of Portugal. While Canning was speaking the House fairly vibrated with emotion. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the following little sentence:—"The precise information on which alone we could act arrived only on Friday last. On Saturday the decision of government was taken; on Sunday we obtained the sanction of his majesty; on Monday we came down to parliament; and at this very hour, while I have the honour of addressing this House, British troops are on their way to Portugal." Equally effective were the orator's concluding remarks—"We go to Portugal, not to rule; not to dictate; not to prescribe constitutions; but to defend and preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted foreign dominion shall not come." Mr. Canning's speech produced as much effect in Portugal as at home. In Lisbon it was translated; 6,000 copies were sold in a few hours; and it was quickly spread all over the kingdom in the shape of handbills.

In an incredibly short space of time, an armament of 5,000 men, under Sir W. Clinton, was despatched to Portugal: their coming spread terror through the ranks of the invaders; the rebels everywhere retired. Ferdinand had, at length, to succumb. His French guards had left him; Russia had expressed her disapproval of his conduct; and England had drawn the sword. The ultra-royalist party in France were much annoyed. Led by the *camarilla* and Chateaubriand, they were, as we learn from Lafayette's correspondence, eager for a war with England, rather than that a constitutional *régime* should be established in Lisbon.

Greece, at this time, also claimed the regard of Europe. In 1821, an assembly had been called at Argos, composed of ecclesiastics, landowners, merchants, and others, by whom, on the 27th of January, 1822, the independence of the country had been declared. Since that period the patriots had maintained a generally successful war with the Ottoman forces—a war which the latter stained, on the 23rd of April, and following days, by one of the most merciless acts on record. An overwhelming Turkish force landed on the island of Scio, and massacred nearly all the inhabitants, except such women and boys as could be sold for slaves. Upwards of 40,000 were barbarously murdered, and 25,000 consigned to slavery. At the congress of Verona, steps were taken to ensure the independence of Greece, principally in consequence of the influence exercised over Alexander by Pozzo di Borgo.

This celebrated diplomatist was born at Ajaccio, in 1764—the birthplace, four years afterwards, of the great Napoleon. Pozzo, it is said, had more to do with the downfall of his fellow-townsmen than any one of his contemporaries. Pozzo first appeared as the right hand of Paoli, expelled from Corsica with the British in 1797. In 1803, he entered the Russian diplomatic service. The inveterate enmity which he cherished against his former friend and countryman, Napoleon, roused all his faculties into activity. He, however, failed in various efforts: his master was forced to agree to an armistice with Napoleon in 1807; and Pozzo was compelled for some time to absent himself from Russia. Yet the spirit of opposition within him did not abate, and he concerted fresh measures with the English government for another onset. He was recalled by the Russian emperor in 1812; and then commenced a series of diplomatic manœuvres, which effectually aided in overthrowing the power of Napoleon. It was he who prevailed upon the Swedish crown-prince, Bernadotte, to join the confederacy against the French; he who counselled the allies to bring the contest to a crisis by marching upon Paris; he who warned the congress of Vienna of the possibility of Bonaparte returning from Elba. Nor, when his diplomacy had done everything

it could, did his master-passion cease. He shed his blood at Waterloo to foil the last struggle of his great countryman; and when he heard that his vanquished adversary had died at St. Helena, he vindictively exclaimed—"I have not killed Napoleon, but I have thrown the last shovelful of earth upon him." In her drama of *Revenge*, the critics contended that Miss Baillie had exceeded the bounds of probability; but the life-histories of such men as Pozzo di Borgo, show that the artist was guilty of no exaggeration. Subsequently he became Russian ambassador at the French Court, and died at Paris, in 1842.

But to return to Greece. All over Europe, the young, the enthusiastic, the poet, and the scholar, were ardent in her favour. Lord Byron devoted to her cause the last energies of his feverish and wasted life. Greece, with a fair prospect of ultimate success, was at that time as distracted in her councils as ever. Her arms had been victorious; but the ancient jealousy of the Greek mind was unmitigated. The third campaign had commenced, and yet no regular government had been organised; the fiscal resources of the country were neglected; a wild energy against the Ottomans was all that the Greeks depended upon for carrying on the war. At this time Missolonghi was in a critical state, being blockaded both by land and sea. Trelawney, writing to Lord Byron, says—"There have been thirty battles fought and won by the late Marco Botzarris, and his gallant tribe of Suliotes, who are shut up in Missolonghi. If it falls, Athens will be in danger, and thousands of throats cut. A few thousand dollars would provide ships to relieve it. A portion of this sum is raised; and I would coin my heart to save this key of Greece." In vain Lord Byron volunteered most excellent advice. "I must frankly confess," he wrote to the Greek chiefs, "that unless union and order are confirmed, all hopes of a loan will be in vain; and all the assistance which the Greeks could expect from abroad (an assistance which might be neither trifling or worthless) will be suspended or destroyed; and, what is worse, the great powers of Europe—of whom no one was an enemy to Greece, but seemed inclined to favour her—in consenting to the establishment of an independent power, will be persuaded that the Greeks are unable to govern themselves; and will, perhaps, undertake to arrange your disorders in such a way as to blast the brightest hopes you indulge in, and that are indulged in by your friends." It would have been well for the Greeks had they taken his lordship's advice. Towards the end of the year 1824, their dissensions rose to such a height as to produce an insurrection on the part of the Moreotes. This rebellion, after some bloodshed, was quelled by the end of December; but it hindered the reduction of Patras, which might, otherwise, have been taken during the winter; and delayed the prosecution of the blockade of the Gulf of Corinth. The blockade had already been recognised by the English government. This was an important point gained for them, as it was a first step towards the recognition of their independence.

In 1826, the Turks, under Ibrahim Pasha, captured Navarino, and became possessed of the key to the entire western coast of the Morea. The progress of Ibrahim, burning and destroying wherever he came, had thrown the Greek government into great perplexity and distress. At this time several foreign factions were carrying on secret intrigues. The French party actually proposed to give the sovereignty to a son of the Duke of Orleans, promising, on that condition, 12,000 French troops. The Russian emperor, during the preceding year, had issued a semi-official note, hinting at the possibility of forming Greece into principalities. M. Rodvos, the secretary of the executive government, addressed a spirited letter to the British government on this proposal, declaring, that "the Greek nation, as well as its government, whose organ I have the honour to be, in offering their homage to his Britannic majesty through your excellency, solemnly declare, that they prefer a glorious death to the disgraceful lot intended to be imposed upon them." In his answer, Mr. Canning said—"The rights of Greece, as a belligerent power, have invariably been respected. The provisional government of Greece may depend on the continuation of this neutrality: it may be assured that Great



Britain will take no part in any attempt to impose upon it, by force, a plan for the re-establishment of peace contrary to its wishes, if such a peace should ever be proposed: but should the Greeks ever think it advisable to ask our mediation, we will offer it to the Porte; and if it is accepted, we will neglect nothing to make it effectual, in concert with the other powers, whose intervention would facilitate the arrangement. This is, in our opinion, all that can reasonably be required of the British ministers."

In August of the same year, the Greek government issued a manifesto, placing itself under British protection. This document was not the act of a few individuals, but of all the deputies and primates, the army and the navy of Greece.

The year 1826 was a disastrous one to the Greeks. Missolonghi fell, and its brave defenders, male and female, were murdered, dishonoured, or enslaved. One of the greatest misfortunes which the Greeks had to experience, was the misapplication of the loans which were raised for them in England. Lord Cochrane had offered them his services, and great things were expected from his gallantry and experience. A fleet was to be raised in England and America, to be put under his command. Early in 1825, a loan of £2,000,000 was negotiated for this purpose; but, from the mismanagement of those to whom it was entrusted, at the end of November not a single vessel had arrived for Lord Cochrane to take the command of. It is not too much to suppose, that had this fleet been properly fitted out, Missolonghi would not have fallen. With undaunted resolution the Greek nation struggled on in spite of their reverses. No attempts had as yet been made by any of the European powers to make a settlement of the differences between the Greeks and their oppressors. The interposition of the Christian cabinets would, at this time, without doubt, have been effectual with Turkey; but they did not choose to discover any cause for such interference. The sovereignty of Turkey, it was said, was just as legitimate over Greece, as that of Russia over Georgia. The time was coming when they would think differently. In the autumn, Mr. Canning visited Paris, and was received with great cordiality by the king and his ministers. He was invited to the royal table, and had several conferences with the French foreign minister and M. de Villèle. With respect to the former, Mr. Canning's idea that a Christian power should be raised in the Levant, as a check both upon Russia and the Porte (which had already been mooted in the French chambers), was acceded to.

In July, 1827, a treaty was signed between England, France, and Russia, for the reconciliation of the Greeks and Turks. The motives which induced them to make it were stated to be, "the necessity of putting an end to the sanguinary contest which, by delivering up the Greek provinces and the isles of the Archipelago to the disorders of anarchy, produced, daily, fresh impediments to the commerce of the European states, and gave occasion to piracy, which not only exposed the subjects of the contracting parties to considerable losses, but rendered necessary burdensome measures of suppression and protection." It was agreed, by the three powers, that they should offer their mediation to the sultan, in a note signed by all the ministers at Constantinople, proposing that he should retain his suzerainty over Greece, but that the Greeks should be allowed to govern themselves on paying an annual tribute—that tribute to be collected by the Greek authorities, in the nomination of whom the sultan should have a voice. All the property of Mohammedans in Greece was to be abandoned, the owners receiving an indemnity; and the fortresses to be given up to the Greek troops. One month was to be allowed to the Porte to decide upon the acceptance of the terms. If the sultan refused, then the powers would, for their own security, come to an arrangement with the Greeks, and send consular agents to the Greek ports.

The sultan refused. Not so lightly was the ruffian hand of the Turk to be shaken off. The allies resolved to take more active measures. An English, French, and Russian squadron had been collected in the Levant; consisting of ten

ships of the line, ten frigates, and six smaller vessels—mounting, in all, 1,324 guns. Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, commanded for the Porte in the Morea. This man had committed atrocities on his miserable captives almost beyond belief. In consequence, the allies determined to call on him to desist from hostilities; and, if he refused, to resort to force. The demand was rejected, and the allied commanders determined to attack and destroy the Turkish and Egyptian fleets of seventy-nine vessels, mounting 2,240 guns; collected in the bay of Navarino, protected by more than 1,000 guns.

In the afternoon of the 20th of October, the allies commenced operations by entering the bay of Navarino, the English leading. When they had taken up their positions, an officer, bearing a flag of truce, was sent, by Sir Edward Codrington, to the Turkish admiral's ship. A fire was opened on the boat and the flag of truce, the officer bearing which was slain. This brought on a return fire, and the action soon became general. It lasted four hours, and ended in the defeat of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets. Fifty-one of their vessels, including their line-of-battle ships, were totally destroyed: of the other twenty-eight, some were run ashore, and the remainder were considered too insignificant to be attacked, save by a chance shot. The Turks are said to have fought well; but they were in no position to withstand the heavy armaments of the allies. This "untoward event," as the Duke of Wellington termed it, settled the question of Greek independence. A republic was formed, with Count Capo d'Istrias for president. Ultimately Greece was protected by a French army of 14,000; Russia objecting to England having any troops in the Levant. When the news reached the House of Commons, Mr. Hobhouse inquired of Lord Palmerston, whether it was the intention of ministers to propose a vote of thanks to Sir Edward Codrington? Lord Palmerston denied any such intention, as "it was not usual to propose a vote of thanks of this nature, when not performed in a time of open war between the nations to which the combatants belonged." Sir Edward Codrington, however, received promotion, as did four captains and seven commanders.

In Italy, Austria was still prominent as the friend and supporter of unpopular monarchy. In 1822, Lord Castlereagh had admitted that her proceedings had been at variance with the law of nations and common sense. The constitution was repealed, and its defenders proscribed. At Turin the university was even dissolved, and its fine building converted into a stable for the horses of the royalist troops. Ferdinand, King of Naples, died in 1825, and was succeeded by his son; but his kingdom was still occupied by an Austrian army. Such was the attachment of the people to the Bourbons.

The fathers and founders of the holy alliance were as short-lived as their handiwork. We have referred to the death of the King of Naples. In 1825, another star in the political horizon was blotted out. On the 1st of December the Emperor Alexander breathed his last at Taganrog (where, it is said, he had gone in order to escape a conspiracy of his subjects), in the forty-eighth year of his age. His death was a loss to Russia, but a gain to France, where, since the restoration, Russian intrigue and counsels had exercised no small degree of influence. The deceased monarch had many good qualities: he was, next to England, the principal means of freeing Europe from the domination of France; but he never ceased to aim at the extension of Russian influence and dominion. His younger brother, Nicholas, succeeded him; Constantine, the eldest, having resigned his birthright in his favour. This latter personage, according to all accounts, must have been one of the most brutal and barbarous of men. On one occasion, it is said, Alexander burst into tears as he witnessed a loyal demonstration on the part of his people. On being asked the reason, his answer was, he was thinking of their fate when Constantine would be their ruler. The courier of the latter is reported to have said—"We have had a very quiet journey this time; on our last, the grand duke killed two postilions with his own hands." Happily for Europe the succession of this man was set aside. Unhappily for Poland it came under his iron rule.



Louis, the desired, was also gathered to his fathers. In 1823, it was apparent that the end was near; and all who sought Court favour paid homage to the Count d'Artois. The last illness of the king was tedious, both to himself and every one around him. When it became quite evident that his end was approaching, his family was most anxious that he should receive the rites of religion as prescribed by the church. He complied; but previously, the Count d'Artois had had his last interview. Addressing the latter, the king said—"I have tacked between parties, like Henry IV. Unlike him, I die on my bed, and in the Tuileries. Do as I have done, and you will reach the same end in peace. I pardon whatever annoyance you may have caused me for the hopes I entertain of your conduct as king. But," pointing to the Duke de Bordeaux, "let Charles X. take care of the crown for that boy." It is needless to say that the advice fell on obstinate ears.

Louis XVIII. was taken away from the evil to come. According to M. Guizot, he "was a moderate of the old system, and a liberal-minded inheritor of the eighteenth century. His wisdom was egotistical and sceptical, but serious and severe." He is said "to have had no other principle than that which his brother professed—of the nation being the property of the eldest son of the reigning dynasty;" and to have had no faith either in the justness of the representative principle, considered in the abstract, or in the wisdom and good results of its being fairly applicable to France. As a man, Lamartine draws a picture of him from personal observation, which we cannot but think too highly coloured. The writer says—"His natural talent—cultivated, reflective, and quick; full of recollections rich in anecdote; nourished by philosophy; enriched by quotations never deformed by pedantry—rendered him equal in conversation to the most renowned literary characters of his age. M. de Chateaubriand had not more elegance; M. de Talleyrand more wit; Madame de Stael more brilliancy. Never inferior, always equal, often superior, to those with whom he conversed on every subject, yet with more tact and address than they, he changed his tone and the subject of his conversation with the addressed, and yet was never exhausted by any one. History, contemporary events, things, men, theatres, books, poetry, the arts, the incidents of the day, formed the varied text of his conversations. Since the suppers of Potsdam, where the genius of Voltaire met the capacity of Frederick the Great, never had the cabinet of a prince been the sanctuary of more philosophy, literature, talent, and taste." Perhaps the best thing that can be said of Louis XVIII. is, that, in spite of the impatience exhibited by a large and increasing section of the people of France of a rule they considered as forced upon them by foreigners, his reign lasted ten years.

In 1824, Charles X. ascended the throne. At the time of the revolution, in consequence of his dissipation, extravagance, and *hauteur*, he was, perhaps, the most unpopular of the Bourbons. He was an excellent horseman, and a perfect courtier. At one time he had been a great lover of the fair sex. On the death of his last favourite, he abjured female influence, and devoted himself to religion; the priests obtaining, and retaining, a great ascendancy over him. He was always a steady and attached friend; and his tall and majestic figure contributed, with his chivalric manner, to make him personally popular amongst all with whom he came in contact. Born in 1757, he was sixty-seven years of age when he ascended the throne: he had married very early—before he had completed his sixteenth year; and the Duke d'Angoulême, his eldest son, was already fifty years old. From the first, Charles X. never gave himself a chance. He was in the hands of the *Congregation*, or *Parti prêtre*—in short, the Jesuits; and when he ascended the throne, a *camarilla* of its members completely regulated his conduct. Opposed to him were three parties, quietly biding their time—the Orleanists, sanctioned by the Duke d'Orleans, which comprised many leading and able men, both in Paris and the departments; the Bonapartists, who were prepared to rally round Napoleon II. and the tricoloured flag; and the Republicans, whose secret conspiracy was still ramified through every part of France. All the world knows how the

ladies smiled on him when he appeared in Paris as their king; how he was anointed with the sacred oil; how he blundered more and more; and ended his days in exile, in a foreign land.

Mr. Canning, before his sudden and lamented decease, had an American question to settle. The difficulty was connected with that tract of country lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, called Oregon, in which both England and America claimed a right of settlement. In 1818, the question was evaded; and now Mr. Rush, the American minister, had to reopen the discussion with Mr. Canning, whom he found ill in bed. The map was produced, and Mr. Rush traced the boundary demanded, which ran along  $51^{\circ}$  of latitude. Mr. Canning expressed his surprise at the extent of the American claim; and when the negotiations were again renewed, the American minister reduced his demand to the  $49^{\circ}$ ; to which Mr. Canning refused to accede. Further attempts were made to bring about a settlement of this disputed boundary; and Mr. Canning, from an anxious desire to avoid hostilities, proposed a middle course, which was rejected by America. It was a question on which we were very near going to war. "The English people," said Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rush, "were in such a temper that war could be produced by holding up a finger." The Oregon question was not settled till a much later time.

At the beginning of 1824, a misunderstanding arose between the Dey of Algiers and the English consul, Mr. Macdonald, which led to the violation, on the part of the Algerines, of the privileges of the consular character. Captain Spencer was immediately sent, with the *Naiad* and the *Chameleon*, to demand satisfaction. On his arrival, he found two recently-captured Spanish vessels in the Mole, the crews of which were destined for slavery. Their liberation, also, was made a part of his demand. After waiting four days, and receiving no answer, he got the consul and his family, and all the other Europeans, on board, and prepared for his departure. On their way out, the crew of the *Chameleon* captured the Algerine corvette which had taken the Spanish vessels. She was manned by a hundred men, and had seventeen Spaniards on board. Sir H. Neale then, with the squadron under his command, stood in towards the town and batteries; but the courage of the dey failed him, and he agreed to submit to all the demands, binding himself in the strictest manner to abide by the treaty existing. It was well for the dey that he came to his senses at last.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### INDIA AND OUR COLONIES.

It is the boast of an Englishman, that on the dominions of his country the sun never sets. One disadvantage of this state of things is, that the door of the temple of Janus is never shut; and that, in some quarter of the world or other, his country is sure to be at war.

In 1824, Earl Amherst succeeded the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-general. However peaceful were his intentions, the necessities of his position soon plunged him into war.

The Burmese were the first to engage his attention. Their empire extends along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, filling up the interval between the Company's possessions and the territory of China. Between this government and the British there had been, as was natural, jealousies for years. In 1823, various acts of hostility were systematically committed. In the same year, under colour of a claim to the island of Shapuree, an attack was made on a small guard of British



soldiers that were on it, by a body of troops, who, coming unexpectedly on our men, killed and wounded several of them. A reinforcement, however, arriving, the invaders were driven out of the island. No answer was returned to the Company's remonstrances; but it was distinctly declared, by the local authorities, that the emperor intended to invade the British possessions unless his claim to Shapuree was unequivocally admitted. The Burmese generals now advanced into countries under our protection. It was thus clear they were bent on war; and one of their generals had already announced that it was his intention to take possession of Calcutta, preparatory to his march to England. To chastise them, and bring them to reason, an expedition was sent out, under Sir Archibald Campbell. Our troops captured Rangoon, and ravaged the maritime towns. It was, however, a tough and tedious task. We knew little of the country, or of the warlike habits of the people. Its climate was particularly noxious, and the difficulty of forcing a passage up the rivers was very considerable. The war lasted for two years, and brought out all the best qualities of British troops in vivid colours. Their patience was severely tried; their health destroyed; their privations were great; and their courage was taxed to the utmost. The power of Burmah was humbled. By a treaty, signed on the 24th of February, 1826, the King of Ava renounced all claim, to Assam and its dependencies. The British government was to retain the province of Arracan; they were also to retain possession of the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim. The sum of one crore of rupees was to be paid by the Burman government, to indemnify Great Britain, in part, for the expenses of the war. British vessels were to be received in Burman ports on the same terms as Burman vessels in British ports. The King of Siam, who had taken part in the war as an ally of Britain, was to be included in the treaty. Accredited ministers of the two governments were to reside at each other's Courts. In May, 1827, the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the officers and men engaged in this war.

A sepoy mutiny occurred at this time. Four regiments refused to proceed to Burmah, on the ground that they ought not to be expected to cross the seas, as they could not cook their food on board ship. They entertained, besides, exaggerated ideas of the physical strength of the Burmese; believed them to be sorcerers, and their country pestiferous. Further, they demanded extra allowance as the price of their service. The government protested against their reasoning, and denied them the allowance. Three regiments gave way; the fourth, influenced by designing men, continued to refuse. Driven to the alternative of crushing the mutinous spirit by a terrible example, or submitting to see its authority derided, and the spirit of revolt diffused, the government left the affair in the hands of the commander-in-chief, General Sir Edward Paget, an able man and a humane officer. Sir Edward's action was terribly stern and prompt. He surrounded the mutinous regiment with European troops and guns; and when the crisis arrived, gave the command, and had the sepoys shot down without remorse. The lesson was awful; but the empire was saved.

Hostilities in India were not alone confined to Burmah. In the north-west of India reigned the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and with him we had a misunderstanding. Bhurtpore itself was a fortress of enormous strength; and when it was besieged by Lord Lake in 1805, the British troops were obliged to give up the enterprise with a loss of 3,000 men. A usurper had seated himself on the throne; and we were bound, by treaty, to see justice done to the rightful heir. Accordingly, the resident or envoy at the Court of Bhurtpore, Major-general Sir David Ochterlony, immediately assembled troops for that purpose. The Governor-general of India and his council would not, however, recognise the course adopted by Sir David. They recalled the troops; and, in disgust at this mark of disapprobation, Sir David resigned his appointment, and retired to a neighbouring station, where he died of a broken heart. The government soon after was obliged to adopt the very course they had condemned. A large force was assembled, under Lord

Combermere, who had recently come out as commander-in-chief, in succession to Sir Edward Paget, and Bhurtpore was besieged. The place was gallantly defended; but the science and courage of the British troops overpowered the defence, and the fortress fell into our hands. The besieged lost about 4,000 men. The whole of the arms, stores, and ammunition of the fortress were taken by Lord Combermere. But we gained still more: for the disaffected in Delhi were prepared to rise in revolt against us if we had failed in our attack.

Canning sent out Lord William Bentinck to India, to fill the place he himself at one time had hoped to occupy. His administration of seven years was the most able and beneficial India had ever enjoyed. He avoided war by abstaining from intervention in the affairs of native states. Excepting when the Rajah of Coorg, by a succession of cruelties towards his own people, and an infraction of treaties, accompanied by an insolent defiance of the British government, compelled Lord William to dethrone him, there was not a single occasion on which the sword was drawn. His sole aim appears to have been the advancement of the people in intelligence and conciliation, the spread of education, and the abolition of the most cruel and disgraceful practice of heathenism.

Suttee was put an end to, and all participators in it were declared offenders against the criminal law. The Shastras, or sacred books of the Hindoos, prescribe that a woman shall either burn herself with the dead body of her husband, and secure beatitude for 35,000,000 of years, or lead a life of chastity and retirement. To serve their own purposes, however, the Brahminical priesthood insisted, that if the widow did not destroy herself, and give up her property and possessions to the temples, she would be compelled to a life of menial service and degradation. Rather than encounter this, the poor creatures suffered themselves to be led to the funeral pyre, and there, stupefied with drugs, were laid on the faggots; while the priests and their attendants kept up a discordant noise with drums and trumpets, that the shrieks might not reach the ears of the assembled multitude. Of course, all orthodox Hindoos remonstrated with Lord William Bentinck against his sacrilegious innovation; but he had the courage to stand his ground nevertheless. Infanticide, in like manner, found in him a most determined enemy; and he gave no countenance to idolatrous sacrifices which involved the destruction of human life.

Against the detestable practice of Thuggism, Lord William Bentinck also waged a war of extermination. The Thugs, or stranglers (a religious sect in India, under the supposed sanction of some malevolent deity), were accustomed to travel about the country in small bands; and, joining travellers on the road, would seduce them into conversation, or persuade them to sit down, and partake of refreshment. While thus unsuspectingly engaged, the travellers were strangled by some of the Thugs, who, coming behind them with a twisted handkerchief, would suddenly throw it round their necks, and instantaneously deprive them of life. The Thugs then robbed the murdered men, and interred their bodies. To General Sleeman, a vigilant officer, well acquainted with the natives in all their social relations, and perfectly familiar with their language, Lord William assigned the task of extirpating the crime; and this most difficult work was ably and admirably performed.

Nor did Lord William Bentinck confine himself to the abolition of these great and crying evils. In every way he laboured hard for the well-being of the natives. Judicial and magisterial offices were entrusted to respectable Hindoos and Mohammedans; and they were likewise occasionally charged with the collection of the revenue. An acquaintance with the English language was encouraged; education received a great impulse; and a medical college was established. His lordship had many powerful prejudices to cope with in connection with the introduction of the practice of surgery, and the use of particular articles of the pharmacopœia; but they all gave way before the influence and intelligence of the medical officers whom he employed to carry out his benevolent purposes. In



addition, let us add that his lordship abolished the transit duties, which had always pressed so severely upon the internal traffic of the country; that he endeavoured to establish a steam communication with England, *viâ* the Red Sea; and that he allowed the utmost freedom to the press—and we have said enough to show how great are his lordship's claims to be considered as one of India's best and truest benefactors.

An insurrection in Demerara, in 1823, created a considerable sensation, not so much on account of the insurrection, as by reason of the barbarous treatment of Mr. Smith, an agent of the London Missionary Society. A court-martial found him guilty of a capital offence, though there was not a shadow of proof that he had the slightest intimation of the insurrection till the moment of its breaking out, when he interfered to prevent it. He was condemned, contrary to law; and his one fault was, that he was a missionary. His accusers, who found him guilty, had not the courage to hang him, but threw him into prison, where he died. On the 1st of June, 1824, a motion on the subject was brought forward by Mr. Brougham, in a brilliant speech of four hours' length, which produced a strong effect upon public feeling. Sir James Mackintosh followed, and was succeeded by Dr. Lushington, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Denman. The debate was closed by a powerful reply on Brougham's part. Wilberforce writes—"Brougham made a capital speech—by Mackintosh well termed impregnable. I doubt not he will be equally great in reply." The speech of the great orator is worthy to be read now, inasmuch as a Jamaica conspiracy has been hinted, and a frightful massacre achieved. "The frame of West Indian society," said Mr. Brougham, "that monstrous birth of the accursed slave-trade, is so feeble in itself, and, at the same time, surrounded with such perils from without, that, barely to support it, demands the most temperate judgment, the steadiest and most skilful hand; and with all our discretion, and firmness, and dexterity, its continued existence seems little less than a miracle. The necessary hazards to which, by its very constitution, it is hourly exposed, are sufficient, one should think, to satiate the most greedy appetite for difficulties, to quench the most chivalrous passion for dangers. Enough that a handful of slave-owners are scattered among myriads of slaves. Enough that, in their nearest neighbourhood, a commonwealth of these slaves is now seated triumphant upon the ruined tyranny of their slaughtered masters. Enough that, exposed to this frightful enemy from within and without, the planters are cut off from all help by the ocean. But, to odds so fearful, these deluded men must add new perils, absolutely overwhelming. By a bond which nature has drawn with her own hand, and both hemispheres have witnessed, they find leagued against them every shade of the African race, every description of those swarthy hordes, from the peaceful Eboe to the fiery Koromantyn. And they must now combine in the same hatred the Christians of the Old World with the pagans of the New. Barely able to restrain the natural love of freedom, they must mingle it with the enthusiasm of religion, vainly imagining that spiritual thralldom will make personal subjection more bearable; wildly hoping to bridle the strongest of the passions in union and excess—the desire of liberty, irritated by despair and the fervour of religious zeal—by persecution exasperated to frenzy. But I call upon parliament to rescue the West Indians from the horrors of such a policy; to deliver these misguided men from their own hands. I call upon you to interpose, while it is yet time, to save the West Indies: first of all, the negroes, the most numerous class of our subjects, and entitled, beyond every other, to our care by a claim which honourable minds will most readily admit—their countless wrongs, borne with such forbearance and meekness while the most dreadful retaliation was within their grasp: next, their masters, whose shortsighted violence is indeed hurtful to their slaves, but to themselves is fraught with fearful and speedy destruction if you do not at once make your voice heard, and your authority felt, where both have been so long despised." In parliament, Mr. Brougham, as was expected, failed of his object. The discussion was, however, productive of an immense amount of good. It changed, as Mr. C.

Buxton wrote, the current of public opinion. The nation, which had before partook of the consternation of government, began to awaken to the truth; and, from that time, the religious public in England was strongly enlisted on behalf of the oppressed missionaries, and their persecuted followers; and this feeling soon increased into a detestation of that system of which such intolerance was the natural fruit.

In June, 1825, the House of Commons was called on to discuss the case of Mr. Shrewsbury, a Wesleyan missionary in Barbadoes, "in whose conduct," as Mr. Canning expressly stated in the House, "there did not appear the slightest ground of blame or suspicion." But the planters were exasperated against him for his exertions in the instruction of the negroes and free people of colour; and it was also charged against him, that he had actually corresponded with Mr. Buxton—"though," said the latter in the House, "I never received from him, nor wrote to him, a single letter; nor did I know that such a man existed till I happened to take up a newspaper, and there read, with some astonishment, that he was going to be hanged for corresponding with me." On two successive Sundays in October, 1823, the doors of Mr. Shrewsbury's chapel were stormed, during the hours of divine worship, by a furious mob, who did not at that time, however, proceed to actual outrage; but a day or two afterwards "a proclamation" was published, calling on all "the true lovers of religion" to assemble in arms on the following Sunday, and pull down the chapel and mission-house. This they accordingly did; but Mr. Shrewsbury had concealed himself in the house of a clergyman, whose kindness, said Mr. Buxton, "there displayed to a poor, friendless missionary, hunted for his life by an infuriated mob, I will now return by concealing his name, knowing that if I were to mention it with approbation, the fate of Mr. Austin, of Demerara, would wait him." Mr. Austin, it appears, for befriending a missionary, was "a ruined and banished man." Well might Mr. Freemantle write at this time to the Duke of Buckingham—"I fear we shall have great difficulties arising from the state of our West India islands: and, however we may dread the immediate danger of a rise of the negroes, it cannot long be prevented; and, indeed, the proprietors have very little interest in sustaining this state of things."

Of the Cape of Good Hope, at this time, there was much complaint. Lord Charles Somerset's administration was very unpopular. When their resources were entirely exhausted, many of the settlers applied to him for conveyance to England, or Van Diemen's Land: he answered, that no means of conveyance were at his disposal. During his temporary absence, military posts had been established as a defence to the settlement against the depredations of the Caffres. On his return, he is said to have withdrawn them all: the country was thus left at the mercy of the Caffres; the cattle carried off by droves; the inhabitants attacked, and some of them barbarously wounded. On one occasion above sixty of the most respectable inhabitants at the Cape wished to establish a literary society, a museum, and a library; a fundamental article of its plan being, that politics, controversial theology, the question of slavery, and all purely professional subjects, should be excluded from the discussions. They held one or two preparatory meetings, and then solicited his lordship's patronage; and on his refusal to accede to this, his permission to establish the proposed society, pointing out to him its identity in design with the Royal Society patronised by the king in England, and the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, patronised by the Governor-general and council. To this application his lordship gave a positive refusal; first, because they had presumed to form themselves into a society "without any previous reference to his excellency;" and, in the second place, because it was improper to permit the establishment of an institution which might have a tendency to produce political discussion. During the session of 1825, several petitions were presented to the House of Commons, complaining of the illegal and arbitrary conduct of the governor. Ultimately his lordship was recalled, and a new governor sent out in his place. He came home with the professed object of answering all the charges



made against him; but they were allowed to die away. A new feature also marks the colonial question. In 1827, a petition was presented to the House of Commons, signed by 1,600 of the most respectable of the colonists at the Cape, praying for a representative government, and describing the one at that time existing as despotic as that of Turkey. In the course of our history other colonies will offer similar requests, and the boon will be granted.

On another part of the African continent, we were, and had been, some time at war. In the vicinity of Cape Coast Castle were the Fantee tribes; and to the north and west of these was the kingdom of Ashantee. The Ashantees first came in contact with the British in the beginning of the present century, after they had conquered the Fantees. In 1811 and 1816, the latter revolted, but were, in both cases, subdued. During the last-named year, Cape Coast was long held in blockade; and but for supplies afforded by the castle, the greater part of its inhabitants must have perished by famine. The authority of Ashantee over the whole coast was now acknowledged, and a treaty was concluded between that kingdom and the British-African government. After this, the treaty was broken by Mr. Smith, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, who encouraged the Fantees to throw off the yoke; but a treaty was again concluded by Mr. Dupuis, who had been sent out to Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, as consul. When this treaty arrived at Cape Coast, the governor had entirely altered his views. He disowned the treaty; excited the natives to withdraw their allegiance from Ashantee; and persuaded Sir George Collier, who then commanded a squadron on the coast, to promise his support. While affairs were in this state, the administration of Cape Coast Castle was taken away from the African Company, and Sir Charles M'Carthy was sent out by his majesty's ministers to take the command on that coast. He immediately proclaimed defiance to the power of the Ashantees, and promised protection to the Fantees, who again revolted. This was quickly followed by war. At first the enemy suffered reverses; but he collected all his force, and moved towards Cape Coast Castle. Preparations were immediately made for receiving him; and by the 4th of January, 1824, Sir Charles had got together 2,000 men, with whom he marched into the country of the Wassaws. Here he was attacked, on the 21st, by 10,000 Ashantees: the Wassaws retreated early, and, from some inexcusable carelessness, the regulars were short of ammunition. The day was a disastrous one for the British, who were entirely at the mercy of the enemy. Sir Charles M'Carthy was among the slain. Captain Ricketts, and a number of wounded men, escaped through the woods, and, after suffering many hardships, were found by Major Chisholm, who was advancing to join Sir Charles M'Carthy; and now first learned the unfortunate defeat. He, however, hastened to Cape Coast Castle, the safety of which was endangered.

In the March following, the Ashantees recommenced their operations with 15,000 men. In May, they had arrived within ten or twelve miles of Cape Coast Castle—a fort (the best on the coast), standing on a granite rock projecting into the sea. Colonel Sunderland arrived to take the command; and it was determined to attack the Ashantees at once. Accordingly, on the day following, after an obstinate engagement of five hours, they were driven from their position with great loss. Yet, owing to the cowardly behaviour of the native forces, Major Chisholm was obliged to retire. A new king at this time ascended the throne of Ashantee, and came, with all the warriors he could muster, to join the forces already advanced, with the determination of destroying the castle, and driving the English out of the country. On his arrival at Fettue, he sent a message to the colonel, that if “the walls of Cape Coast Castle were not high enough, Colonel Sunderland ought to build them higher; and if they were not sufficiently furnished with cannon, he should land those belonging to the ships of war; but that all could not prevent the king from throwing the whole into the sea.” After about three weeks' preparation, his majesty approached the settlement, which he nearly surrounded with his posts. They did not venture to attack Cape Coast, but employed detached parties

in ravaging the surrounding country. In July, a general engagement took place, which ended in their defeat, though they had 16,000 fighting-men; and on our side there were not more than 5,000, of whom only 300 were regulars. During several following days the enemy collected, and manifested designs of again attacking our posts; but they soon disappeared, owing, as was afterwards learned, to the insubordination and discontent which had begun to show itself in the Ashantee army.

In 1826, the tranquillity of our settlements on the Guinea coast was again endangered by the Ashantees. Since their former defeat they had been diligently employed in raising forces to renew the attack; and the native chiefs at length carried intelligence to the commandant at Cape Coast Castle, requesting his assistance, and promising to raise 12,000 men who would not run away, but place themselves under his command. Accordingly, Colonel Purdon, the commandant, divided the force they assembled into five brigades, with two corps of observation to protect each flank. A corps of reserve was formed of such of the settlers as could be assembled; and to the whole were added eighty British soldiers of the Royal African Corps, with four field-pieces. They were also joined by 500 militia—British, Dutch, and Danish. The whole amounted to less than 12,000 men; while the Ashantees numbered 25,000. After the battle had lasted an hour, with great bravery on both sides, the left of the British right centre brigade, and nearly the whole of the right wing, gave way. Just at this time, the central reserve, in which were the men of the Royal African regiment, being uncovered by the flight of the natives, opened a destructive fire upon the Ashantees, which created great confusion among them; in the midst of which Colonel Purdon moved every man he had to the attack, and cut through the enemy's centre. The result was that the enemy fled in every direction, after sustaining a loss of not less than 5,000 men; and the whole of their camp equipage, which was of great value, passed into the hands of the victors. The head of Sir Charles M'Carthy, which had been considered by the Ashantees as their greatest charm, or *fetish*, was also recovered.

Canada, and our North American provinces, at this time, began to force themselves on the attention of the public. In Lower Canada, in 1824, there had been serious political differences, in consequence of the position assumed by the church establishment. An address to the king was voted by the House of Assembly, which represented, in strong language, that the members of the church of England constituted but a minority of the population; that the members of the Scottish church had an undoubted right to have a provision made for the clergy, out of the lands appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes; and that the dissenting ministers had also an equally just claim. Disputes also arose between the House of Assembly and the legislative council and governor. The former claimed an unlimited right to dispose of the whole of the revenue, part of which had been raised under the authority of the British parliament, and appropriated to the discharge of the civil expenses. This pretension was resisted by the governor and legislative council. The supplies were, in consequence, refused, and the different branches of the legislature parted, very much dissatisfied with each other. The Anglo-Saxon race was now beginning to fulfil its mission of replenishing and taking possession of the earth. Emigration, on a large scale, came to be considered as a remedy for the ills of poverty. There had been, in 1824, immense speculation, and a great formation of joint-stock companies; many of them, as is always the case, merely bubble ones. Money, to use a technical phrase, had become tight. The distress which was experienced in every part of the country, called the attention of government to the subject of emigration. There were lands abroad, fertile, and abounding in health and the elements of wealth. Why should not the labourer take possession of them? Why should a man starve at home, if he could get as much corn and beef as he required if he crossed the Atlantic? If there was no home for him in the Old World, why should he not seek one in the New? The public argued thus, and



government began to take the matter up; and wisely; for, of necessity, a man in a state of starvation is in a state of discontent. For four years, emigration on a small scale, to Canada, had been encouraged by the government. It was now resolved that it should be conducted on a larger scale. In 1825, 2,024 persons emigrated from Ireland to Canada, at the government expense; and thus most of them exchanged dependence and pauperism here, for comparative wealth and independence there. Thriving colonists, it had become clear, are better for a country than starving paupers. It was further announced, that as the business of the colonial department had increased, it was necessary to have a second Under-Secretary of State; and Mr. R. W. Hay was appointed, in addition to Mr. R. Wilmot Horton. The government of forty dependencies, besides the oversight of various commissions on colonial subjects, was divided between these two gentlemen; and they were now charged with the business of emigration, to which government, as we have already intimated, lent assistance through parochial officers. Independently of this, the custom-house returns show that the people had begun to take the matter into their own hands. In 1820, nearly 18,000 persons emigrated; in the next year, about 13,000; in the prosperous years 1824 and 1826, only 8,000 and 9,000; in the disastrous year which intervened, upwards of 14,000. Of all these, nine-tenths went to our North American colonies, and the remainder to Australia. The numbers are insignificant compared with the statistical returns of the present time. Lord Palmerston lived to see it resorted to on the most extensive scale. The twenty-fifth annual report (the last) of the emigration commissioners states, that there were 208,900 emigrants who left the United Kingdom in 1865. Of the whole, 162,650 cleared from English, 10,436 from Scotch, and 35,814 from Irish ports. The native origin of the emigrants appeared to be—56,618 English; 15,035 Scotch; 115,428 Irish; 16,942 foreigners; and 4,877 not distinguished; and their destinations were as follow:—147,042 to the United States; 12,721 to the North American colonies; 40,942 to the Australian colonies; to Jamaica, 343; British Guiana, 220; Trinidad, 128; other West Indian settlements, 1,215; the East Indies, 1,267; China, 205; Japan, 4; Mauritius, 23; Western Africa, St. Helena, Madeira, Malta, &c., 364; the Cape of Good Hope, 873; Natal, 527; Mexico, 43; the Falkland Islands, 5; the Sandwich Islands, 15; New South Wales, 4,689; Queensland, 7,183; Victoria, 13,909; South Australia, 2,842; Western Australia, 299; Tasmania, 50; New Zealand, 11,970. Considered in one point of view, these returns indicate an immense amount of poverty, hardship, and distress. It is not willingly that a man leaves his native land, and all the tender associations connected with the place of his birth, and the friends of his childhood. At the same time, it must be confessed, that to the young, the hardy, and adventurous, there is something exciting and gratifying in winning for themselves, in a new world, the wealth, position, and independence denied them here. England's magnificent colonial empire is her greatest boast, and will ever be the noblest memento of the skill, daring, and prowess of her adventurous sons. Speaking the English tongue, ruled by English law, nursed and reared by English literature, and upheld by English faith, it matters little what becomes of the mother country; or if, in time, the New Zealander shall stand on Westminster, and see St. Paul's a ruin. In her vast colonies, in Australia and America, beneath the fiery splendour of the southern cross, England will renew her mighty youth. British America is daily growing in value and importance to the mother country. The progress of Canada in population and material prosperity—the opening up to settlement of the fertile regions of the north-west territory—the discovery of gold in British Columbia;—the development of the resources of all these colonies, and the construction of a great highway through them, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will scarcely fail to exercise an immense influence on the future progress of our great empire. The British colonies in Australia are rising at a rate which promises, ere long, to outstrip the far-famed rapidity of Transatlantic increase. Prophecy

appears to be realised:—"God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." Fleeing from poverty and persecution—

"England sent her men of men the chief;  
Who taught those sires of empire yet to be,  
To plant the tree of life—to plant fair Freedom's tree."

Frenchmen do not emigrate: not because the Frenchman is satisfied, and well off at home, as we have heard some Frenchmen argue; but because French colonies are a failure. There is not enough of liberty allowed them. "All colonies," writes Sir A. Alison (and for once he is right), "which have flourished in the world, and left durable traces of existence to future times, have been matured under the shelter of republican institutions. Those of Greece and Rome, on the shores of the Mediterranean; those of Holland and England, on the wider margin of the ocean, attest this important fact. The colonies of Great Britain at this time, though nominally ruled by Queen Victoria, are, for the most part, practically speaking, self-directed; and where the authority of the central government has made itself felt, it has generally been only to do mischief, and weaken the bonds which unite its numerous offspring to the parent state. Wherever democratic institutions do not prevail, colonial settlements have, after a time, declined, and at length expired; and it seems impossible to engraft republican self-direction upon original subjection to monarchical institutions. It must be bred in the bone, and matured in the strength. The Portuguese settlements in the East are almost extinct, and exhibit no traces of the vigour with which Vasco da Gama braved the perils of the stormy Cape. The attempt to introduce republican institutions, after three centuries of servitude, into the Spanish colonies of South America, has led only to anarchy and suffering; and the decisive fact, that the republican states of North America, though settled a century later, have now more than double the European population of the monarchical in the south, points to the wide difference in the future destinies of mankind of these opposite forms of government." Left alone in the woods, Anglo-Saxon settlers early feel the necessity of relying on their own resources. Self-government is in accordance with their habits, and it suits them accordingly. Speaking of the energy and enterprise of the fishermen of Cape Cod, a sandy, barren track of territory, specially memorable on account of the landing there, on the 9th of November, 1620, of the Pilgrim Fathers from the *Mayflower*, Burke remarked, in the House of Commons—"No sea that is not vexed by their fisheries; no climate that is not witness of their toils; neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried their most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pursued by this people." And, with such settlers, only one form of government—a democratic one—is possible; and hence it is that the more democratic have been the colonies, the better have they flourished and grown strong. "Certain it is," as the same historian writes, "that great as the British military empire in India now is, it will leave no settlements of Europeans behind it among the sable multitudes of Hindostan." Possibly, also, future time may verify the saying of Burke—"That if the Englishman left the East, he would leave no more durable traces of his existence than the jackal and the tiger." Surely this application of Burke's language is a little overstrained. When the latter wrote, Englishmen only went to India to make money. Its rulers were of the Clive and Hastings class. Under such Governor-generals as Lord W. Bentinck and Lord Canning, quite a different order of things was instituted and maintained. At home, the public woke up to a sense of its duties to the vast continent entrusted to its care; and that public feeling acted on the government, and improved and modified it. To the Christian student, it may appear that this second division of our race is almost as wonderful as that earlier one recorded in sacred writ, when the builders of Babel were "scattered upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city." Those early emigrants carried away with them but the simplest



rudiments of knowledge; but the ships that leave our harbours are freighted with the long results of time—with treasures of wisdom and genius denied to kings, prophets, and priests, in the dawn of our race. Each emigrant ship that leaves our shore is a messenger of peace and goodwill; bears to other lands the faith and civilisation of our own; helps to break down the selfish isolation of nations, out of which wars arise; and hastens on the day when—

“Man to man, the world o’er,  
Shall brothers be for a’ that.”

## CHAPTER XXI.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE UNDER GEORGE IV.

THE reign of George IV. was, on the whole, a prosperous one; but it had its reverses—its shade as well as its sunshine.

In 1825, a terrible panic took place. It appears, that for the 156 joint-stock companies of 1823, there were 532 in 1825, with a nominal capital of £441,649,600; and, in the same period, foreign loans had been subscribed to the extent of £18,000,000. Some of the objects of these associations were ludicrously absurd. There were companies for mining in the Cordilleras, and for milking in the Pampas; next, for cutting through the isthmus of Panama, and intersecting England with canals; with lighting the obscurest villages with gas; for baking and washing; for hatching eggs; and churning butter by the omnipotent power of steam. A frightful shock was given to public credit by the stoppage of the banking-house of Sir Peter Pole and Company, on the 12th of December, as it was known that that firm kept accounts with forty-four country banks, and it was feared that the fall of the one would lead to that of many more. These fears were realised as bank after bank failed; and the funds fell, and city men stood aghast at the prospect before them. “Country bankers,” says Mr. Francis, “from all parts of England, were in town, trying to secure cash. The heads of all the London houses were as regular in attendance as their clerks. It was common to hear of men worth £100,000 begging the loan of £1,000, on the best security, as a personal favour. Exchequer-bills fell to sixty-five shillings discount; and the brokers closed their books, and refused to engage in any transactions whatever. The bankers in the country demanded gold, not only to the extent of their circulation, but to the extent of all their engagements of every description, in anticipation of a run. Many packages of gold, forwarded to these gentlemen, came back unopened.” “Hundreds of thousands of sovereigns,” said Mr. Poulett Thompson, “were sent, which were returned untouched, having been provided only to meet the chances of a run. The Bank of England was called upon to supply gold for all the notes of these banks; and post-chaises and four were regularly stationed in Lombard Street all the day.” On the 14th of December, a meeting of the merchants and traders of London was convened at the Mansion-house, to devise mitigating measures. It was stated that the distress arose from want of confidence in men able to pay forty, fifty, or sixty shillings in the pound. The governor and deputy-governor of the bank officially communicated to the Lord Mayor, that they would do everything in their power to alleviate the condition of the city and country bankers. Nevertheless, the distress increased; doubt brooded everywhere; and all trade was suspended.

The Mint was put to work, and coined at the rate of 150,000 sovereigns a day for a week. The weekly discounts at the bank were from five to fifteen millions. Advances were made upon the simple deposit of title-deeds, often

without even an examination. Exchequer-bills, to an enormous amount, were sold to meet the demand from the mercantile interest; and gold, from abroad, was constantly arriving.

A suggestion was made to government for an order in council to restrain the payment in specie, under the apprehension that it might be exhausted. Mr. Canning was reported to have replied, in one of his emphatic sentences, that he would never consent to a thing of that sort. But the most extraordinary feature of the time, was the advice of Mr. Huskisson, to place a paper on their doors, stating that they had not gold to pay with, but expected some shortly. Of course this advice did not mend matters. For two or three days the most unquestionable security could not procure money, nor could the public funds be said to have a price. There was no market for bank or East India stock. It was the opinion of Mr. Huskisson, that, in forty-eight hours, all dealings would have been stopped between man and man, except by way of barter. In the city a universal gloom prevailed. Up to this time, with the single exception of 1797, the term "bank" had been synonymous with safety. When, therefore, it was believed that the Bank of England was in danger, deep and dire was the terror and dismay. The great hall of the establishment was filled all day with a trembling and anxious crowd, eager to exchange their notes for gold. Happily the bank was able to respond to the call. No attempt was offered to withhold, as in 1797; or to delay, as in 1745; and it was owing to this conduct on the part of the bank, that the difficulty was met, and that the danger passed away.

The anxieties and harassing feelings of the time may be faintly imagined. We can, however, get some idea of them from the statement furnished by Mr. Richards, the deputy-governor of the bank. He says—"In autumn the bank began very seriously to contemplate what would be the result of the speculations. Not only the bank, but every man's mind connected with the city was in an extreme state of excitement and alarm. I think I can recollect, on the first Saturday in December, having come home, after a very weary and anxious day, from the bank, receiving a visit from two members of the committee, and one of our bankers of that class, at my own house, stating the difficulty in which a banker's house near the bank was placed. The object was to ascertain my views. I was called upon in consequence of the governor being connected with the house of Pole and Company by marriage, and other circumstances. I ventured to encourage these gentlemen, that, upon anything like a fair statement, the bank would not let this concern fall through. It was agreed that, on the following morning (Sunday), we should meet as many directors as I could get together, with the three gentlemen who had called upon me; and that some eminent merchants, friends of the house, should be called to the meeting to assist with their opinion. The result was, that it was agreed £300,000 should be placed at the disposal of Pole and Company the next morning, on security of several bills of exchange and notes of hand, and over and above a mortgage of Sir Peter Pole's property, which was to ride over the whole. During that week, I believe the attention of every man was directed much more to the state of that house than anything else. They fought through it till Thursday or Friday pretty manfully; and about that time, from a conversation I had with a partner in the house, I was led to fear that it might fall. However, it fought on till Saturday evening. Sunday passed, and on Monday the storm began; and, till Saturday night, it raged with an intensity it is impossible for me to describe. On the Saturday night it had somewhat abated. The bank had taken a firm and deliberate resolution to make common cause with the country, as far as their humble efforts would go. On Saturday night it was my happiness, when I went up to the cabinet, reeling with fatigue, to be able just to call out to my Lord Liverpool, and to the members of his majesty's government then present—"All is well." Then, on the following week, things began to get a little more steady; and, by the 24th, what with the one pound notes that had gone out, people began to get satisfied. Then it was, for the first time in a



fortnight, that those who had been busy in that terrible scene, could recollect that they had families who had some claim upon their attention. It happened to me not to see my children for that week."

In the manufacturing districts there was great suffering, and consequent discontent. In the great cities operatives can combine, and declare their wrongs or maladies; while, in the agricultural districts, the labourer bears his in dumb silence; for—

"Sufferance is the badge of all his tribe."

In Lancashire, popular indignation was directed against the machinery used in weaving. A tumultuous rising occurred in Blackburn; and every power-loom in that town, and in the parts adjacent, was destroyed in one day. The same thing was done in other districts, in spite of the soldiers and of the cannons placed around the manufactories. In the course of a week, it was reckoned that £30,000 worth of property was destroyed, and many lives lost. What with bad laws, and the opposition to machinery, our cotton-trade had a near chance of being destroyed altogether. To prevent the use of calicoes interfering with the demand for linen and cotton stuffs, a statute was passed, in 1721, imposing a penalty of £5 upon the weaver, and of £20 upon the seller of a piece of calico. Fifteen years after, this extraordinary statute was so far modified, that calicoes manufactured in Great Britain were allowed to be worn, provided the warp thereof was entirely of linen yarn. This was the law with respect to calicoes till after the invention of Sir Richard Arkwright introduced a new era into the history of the cotton manufacture, when its impolicy became obvious to every one. In 1744, a statute was passed, allowing printed goods, wholly made of cotton, to be used. Many of its best friends had to work in retirement. The Blackburn operatives drove away Hargraves; and we all know how Crompton, fearful that his new machine (the spinning-mule) should be destroyed by the same men, kept it hid in a loft above the ceiling of his room, during several weeks. The inventors were, in reality, the best friends of the operative. The inventor of the power-loom, Cartwright, as we know, had his attention turned to the subject quite by accident. In the summer of 1784, he happened to be on a visit at Matlock, in Derbyshire, and in the company of some gentlemen from Manchester. The conversation turned upon Arkwright's spinning machinery; and fears were expressed, by one of the company, that in consequence of the recent improvements, so much cotton would soon be spun, that hands would not be found to weave it. To this Cartwright replied, that the only remedy for such an evil, would be to apply the power of machinery to weaving as well as spinning. The discussion which ensued upon the practicability of doing this, made such an impression on Cartwright's mind, that he determined to try and see what he could do. The power-loom was the result. It gave an impulse to the trade, which established England's manufacturing superiority. At the time of Cartwright's death, in 1823, steam-looms had increased so rapidly, that they were doing the work of 200,000 men. The marvels of the cotton manufacture in Britain, have exceeded all other marvels; and the vast development of native wealth and industry, during the last thirty years, has been mainly owing to its progress. From the accounts laid before parliament, it appears that the official value of cotton goods exported, which, in 1785, was £864,000, and, in 1797, had risen to £2,580,000, had increased, in 1814, to £17,655,000; and, in 1833, had reached the enormous amount of £46,000,000. So great and rapid an extension is, perhaps, not to be found in any single branch of manufacture. During the same period of time, an astonishing progress was made in other departments—in woollen goods, cutlery, hardware, and iron; in the last especially. In 1814, the total quantity of pig-iron wrought in Great Britain, was 350,000 tons. In 1835, it had risen to 1,000,000 tons. These figures are also interesting as teaching us the secret of our strength; and how it was that we prospered all the while we carried on an enormous war, and were not reduced to national bankruptcy by the

debt which it left behind. It was to the cotton-trade of England that we were indebted for the wealth which enabled us to repair, in peace, the ravages of war; and, without machinery, that trade could never have been developed to the extent it was.

But this the operatives did not understand; they only knew that they were poor, and in want of bread. In Manchester, especially, there was much hostility to the powers that be. The Bradford wool-combers and weavers called meetings, to take into account the unparalleled distress and fearful condition of the operatives. In Lanarkshire, similar meetings were held. In Ireland, the voice of sorrow was loud and indignant. The silk-weavers of Dublin marched in procession through the streets, to make their miserable condition more universally known: they wished a public subscription in their favour, to be employed in purchasing the manufacturers' stock in hand, in the hope that it would create a market—a truly Irish way of settling the question; as sensible as that adopted at Trowbridge by the poor, who attacked the stall-keepers, and plundered them, because potatoes had risen in price. Like scenes were witnessed at Carlisle, where, however, the poor weavers hit the right nail on the head, and demanded the repeal of the corn-laws, and a radical reform. At Norwich, the weavers, irritated and maddened by distress, refused to accept such wages as the manufacturers could offer. They assembled in large numbers, and kept watch at the city gates for goods brought in from the country. One cart-load they seized, and threw the cart into the river. They broke the windows of their employers, and committed other acts of violence of an alarming character. At that time, it was said, there were not less than 12,000 unemployed throughout the country. The sufferings of that class of artisans were very great; and, in Bethnal Green, many thieves assembled openly for the purposes of depredation, pretending they were weavers, starving for want of work and food.

The summer, too, was remarkably hot, and that made things worse.

In 1828, appeared the report of the committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the causes of the increase of crime. It testified to the existence of a frightful amount of intemperance among the lower orders. Few tailors and shoemakers, it appeared, would work on the first days of the week. If poverty existed, it arose chiefly from misconduct, and drinking to excess. Impunity for crime was carefully provided for by respectable attorneys, who negotiated between thieves and their victims for the restoration of stolen property for a consideration. Parties who had committed forgery, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, escaped in consequence of the law, which then required that you should show where the forgery was written—a thing almost impossible. Most appalling was the evidence as to the existence of flash houses. To those dens of profligacy, notorious thieves, professed gamblers, and dissolute persons of both sexes were accustomed to repair. They were frequently kept by individuals having no licence. Their keepers gained security by paying annual tribute to common informers: and to these sinks of iniquity, the committee learned, that sundry police officers were in the habit of resorting, under the specious pretence that their object was to become acquainted with the persons of notorious characters, that they might the more readily, at a fitting time, render them amenable to law.

All England was astonished, at this time, with the existence of a new species of crime, which has enriched our language with a very useful and expressive term. By the accidental discovery of a dead body, recognised as that of a woman in good health a few hours before, in the house of a man named Burke, it was revealed that a system of murder had been going on for some time, in order to supply subjects for the dissecting-rooms. Burke confessed to fifteen murders, perpetrated by himself and his accomplice, Hare. Their victims were generally helpless, friendless, half-witted people, whom they invited home, and regaled, and then suffocated. The execution of the murderers took place in January, 1829, in Edinburgh. Shouts arose from the multitude to the executioner, of—"Burke him!



give him no rope! Burke him!" And at every convulsive throe, a hurra was set up, as if every one present had a personal revenge to gratify. When the bodies were cut down, there was a cry of "one cheer more." In the single year 1827, there had been seventy-three executions, of which only eleven were for murder; while the total number who had been convicted of capital crimes, and had sentence of death passed upon, or recorded against them, was 1,529: the proportion of the condemned to the executed, for several years, was about one in twenty. A great sensation was made, towards the close of 1829, by the execution of a Quaker, named Hunton, for forgery. Every endeavour was made to obtain a mitigation of his punishment, but in vain.

Here we may as well—though we anticipate a couple of years in doing so—refer to the discontented state of the peasantry. In 1830, they assembled in the county of Kent, and visited the farm buildings of the principal landed proprietors, demolishing the thrashing machines then in use. In some instances they set fire to barns and corn-stacks. The ministry were alarmed, and feared that the number of unemployed labourers might do some serious mischief. Nor did things mend. Rioting and incendiarism spread from Kent to Sussex, Norfolk, Surrey, Hants, Wilts, Berks, Buckinghamshire, Huntingdonshire, and Cambridgeshire, and a great deal of valuable property was destroyed. A mystery enveloped these proceedings that appeared to indicate organisation; and it became suspected in high quarters, though, apparently, without any reason, that they had a political source as well as a political object. Threatening letters were sent to individuals, signed "Swing;" and beacon-fires communicated from one part of the country to another. With the object of checking these outrages, night patrols were established; dragoons were kept in readiness to disperse tumultuous meetings; while the magistrates, clergymen, and landed gentry, did much to alleviate the existing distress.

The signs of the times continued, in the opinion of the Duke of Buckingham and his friends, ominously significant. On the 9th of January, 1831, sentence of death was pronounced against twenty-three persons for assisting to destroy a paper machine. In Dorsetshire, on the 11th, the same sentence was passed upon three more for extortion, and two for robbery: four received seven years' transportation for destroying machinery; two were sentenced to one year, and two to three months' imprisonment and hard labour. At Norwich there were forty-five convictions; three at Ipswich; twenty-six at Petworth; and several at Oxford. At Gloucester, seven criminals were transported for fourteen years: one had three years' imprisonment; two, two years'; twelve were sentenced to a less term; and six were left for execution. At Winchester, two were hanged on the 15th, as well as two at Salisbury on the 25th. Upwards of 800 offenders were brought to trial. Carlisle, the notorious publisher of seditious and irreligious books, was, on the 10th, sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to a fine of £200, for a libel tending to excite the agricultural labourers to riot and to the destruction of property. In Ireland, similar measures were pursued to put down unlawful meetings. Several proclamations to this effect were issued by the Lord-Lieutenant; and, on the 18th, Mr. Daniel O'Connell was arrested for having attended a prohibited meeting, and was held to bail.

The cry of financial reform began to be raised; and, according to all appearance, there was need for it. The Duke of Buckingham confesses, that "much carelessness had prevailed in the arrangements of the royal household with tradespeople. The charges of the latter had been extravagant; the purveyance marked by many abuses." Mr. Freemantle intimates, that, owing to negligence, the jewels worn by King George at the coronation had not been returned; and the result was, they had to pay for eleven months' hire instead of one. In 1828, Mr. Plumer Ward writes to the Right Hon. H. Goulbourn—"In short, it seems neither more nor less than the most scandalous waste on the part of the lower servants, encouraged by laxity of discipline; particularly, I think, from the former officers, and the good-nature of the king. This made the attempt to alter the condition of his servants.

unpleasant, if not hopeless. I cannot better exemplify this than by the instance of an allowance of £500 a year to the lower servants, in lieu of small-beer. The history is, when allowed small-beer in kind, they were all allowed access to the cellar *ad libitum*, and often would not take the trouble to turn the cock after having drawn the quantity; but let hogsheads run off from very wantonness. The then officer in power (I know not who he was; but it was in Blomefield's time), instead of punishing them, thought it right to turn the beer into money (the servants having ale and porter *besides*, sufficient); and hence this £500 a year compensation for not being able to continue this frightful extravagance. The above is, to be sure, an extreme case; but the prodigality of the steward's room and the servants' hall is almost as bad. Every person belonging to either, seems allowed to carry away as much provision as he can scramble for after being himself satisfied. If a bottle of wine or porter is opened for a glass, the rest is carried off: the meat in a napkin, which seldom finds its way back again. And, in addition to this, scores of persons who have no connection with the domestic establishment, appear to run riot upon the unlimited allowance for these tables. All this, after conferring with the deputy comptroller, I find may be checked by authority; and the Lord Steward having willingly promised it, it has been agreed to strike off no less than £1,600 a year from this expense alone. The footmen and maids, moreover, have been allowed charwomen and helpers (in fact, to allow them to be idle); and the reduction of these will save £400 or £500 a year more. The calculation of meat, per day, for each individual family, has been two pounds, which, the principal cook allows, is too much by half a pound: this alone will save £500 a year; and an allowance of what is called *bread* money (which I could not get explained, it having been made before the present officers came into place), may also be reduced to the amount of £300. This is the more right, because the allowance in money does not preclude the supply of bread in kind over and above the allowance. I mention this specifically, because they seem gross abuses, which you ought to be apprised of. Other deductions will arise, more from better regulations than abolitions; particularly in the gardens, upon which the Lord Steward, &c., have themselves ordered a diminution (agreed to by Mr. Aiton) of £2,600 a year; and the whole put together, as per table enclosed, will amount to £6,456."

Such a peep as this at the scandalous way in which money was wasted, renders quite intelligible the cry raised by Joseph Hume and Sir James Graham, in the House of Commons, for reduction of expenditure—a cry to which the Duke of Wellington was quite inclined to listen, and, in his stern decisive way, to respond to. William IV. was anxious that his expenses should be on as moderate a scale as possible. This, coupled with apprehensions of parliamentary comments, made the treasurer of the household watch any extraordinary expenditure with uneasiness, especially as the Marquis of Blandford stated in the House of Commons—"Every labouring man who earns £30 a year, has £18 taken from him by the whole of the cruel and harassing excise laws, and those cheating indirect taxes." Well might Mr. Daniel O'Connell exclaim, at the end of one of his harangues in the House of Commons—"Ye place-holders who revel on the hard earnings of the people—ye pensioners who subsist on public money—ye tax consumers, and tax devourers, assault me as you please. I am not to be intimidated by you." To which appeal, the answer was a saving to the nation of £161,000 a year. It was the intention of government, says the Duke of Buckingham, to have followed up this first step with other financial reforms. The civil list was "the first of a series in contemplation for retrenching the national expenditure, and lessening the burdens of the people." But it was otherwise decreed. It was on this point that the opposition determined to give battle. Lord Althorp, after the motion had been put, recommended the appointment of a committee to examine into the details of the proposed arrangement, of which he expressed his disapproval. Sir Henry Parnell followed on the same side; as did Messrs. Hume and Brougham. Lord Palmerston's short speech was a wily one—he supported the amendment: at



the same time he was very anxious to disclaim all intention of diminishing the revenue of his majesty. Hansard tells us, Lord Palmerston saw, with regret, that the government was not convinced of the propriety of a more simplified arrangement. He was of opinion, that when the expenses of the civil list were to be settled for the whole reign, it must be of great importance indeed that the accounts should be considered fully. The opposition triumphed by a majority of twenty-nine; and thus a debate, which was of little interest, and which was very brief, became one of historic importance, as it was the occasion of the entry of the Whigs into the promised land of office. The ministry were surprised at the result; and it is said that the Duke of Wellington was very angry at the carelessness which had allowed it. Mr. Roebuck tells us, that the duke's notion of discipline was sorely disturbed by the conduct of the subordinates on this occasion; while his confidence in the generalship of the leader of the House of Commons was also greatly shaken. In proof of the assertion that the result was not anticipated, Lord Sidmouth's evidence may be adduced—"Last night's division was a surprise to ministers and their opponents."

It is clear that the opposition would rather have gained the victory on any other question. The ministry were wise in going out on that particular one. As financial reformers, Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington were quite equal to the Whigs. On one occasion, the latter is reported to have said, that he and his colleagues had done all in their power to relieve the people, and had taken off taxation to the extent of £3,950,000. By retiring on the question of the civil list, they placed their adversaries in a delicate position. The Whigs, of course, were anxious to gain the favour of the king; but if, to do this, they were liberal with their votes of money, they would certainly give offence to the people, and weaken their popularity. If, on the other hand, they sought, by economy, to strengthen their power with the public, they would infallibly make enemies among those who influenced and surrounded the king. The mere discussion, besides, was dangerous. As Mr. Roebuck writes—"In the hurry and excitement of debate, expressions fall from unwary or unskilful speakers, which, by them, may easily be forgotten, but which rankle deeply in royal bosoms, and for a longer time than in those of less exalted persons. The less a man has to think of, and the more highly he is taught to think of himself, the more easily is he offended, and the more lasting is his anger, and the more bitter is his hate." In the preceding reign, this truth had been sufficiently illustrated to the Whigs by the exclusion of Earl Grey and Mr. Brougham from office. In the same way had George III. acted with regard to Mr. Fox. "To an opposition seeking office," continues Mr. Roebuck, "the discussion of a civil list must always prove difficult and full of peril." Sir Henry Parnell, at any rate, in moving his amendment, took care that his speech should be seasoned sufficiently to suit the royal appetite. William IV., who had but just ascended the throne—who had done nothing whatever to win the popular regard—he described "as the most popular monarch, and the most deservedly popular monarch, that ever sat on the throne of these realms." Can any censure be too strong for such language as this?

The Whigs triumphed; but their professions of economy, put forward by them as a means of party warfare, in the speech of Sir H. Parnell, were long remembered against them.

To the last, the duke would have it that his going out of office had nothing to do with the question of reform. "I was defeated," said he "on the civil list: in short, the government was placed in a minority. Upon thus finding I had the misfortune no longer to enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons, I thought proper to resign the situation I held in his majesty's service. Upon that occasion, parliamentary reform had no more to do, as far as I was concerned, with the resignation which I tendered to his majesty on the day following the defeat on the civil list, than anything else in the world. I admit," adds the duke, with amusing simplicity, "I resigned next morning, because I did not wish to expose his majesty

and the country to the consequences that might result from the government going out on the success of the question of parliamentary reform; but, to say I resigned on account of parliamentary reform, is wrong." Sir Robert Peel said, in the House of Commons, subsequently—"That though we retired on the civil-list question, with regard to which we were in a minority, yet it is impossible to deny that the anticipation of the probable manifestation and opinion on the question of reform in this House, entered into the consideration of the government."

The new parliament, elected on the accession of William IV., was, undoubtedly, unfavourable to government. "The general election was considered," says a writer in the *Annual Register*, "to have diminished the number of votes on which ministers could depend:" and the relation in which they now stand to the more populous part of the representation, was stated to be as follows:—"Of the eighty-two members returned by the forty counties of England, only twenty-eight were steady adherents of ministry; forty-seven were avowed adherents of the neutral opposition; and seven of the neutral cast did not lean much to government. Of the thirteen great popular cities and boroughs, with hundreds (London, Westminster, and Aylesbury, &c.), returning twenty-eight members, only three seats were held by decidedly ministerial men; twenty-four by men of avowed opposition. There were sixty other places, which might have contests, being more or less open, returning 126 members. Of these, only forty-seven were ministerial; all the rest were avowed opposition men, save eight, whose leaning was rather more against the government than for it. Of the 236 men then returned by elections, more or less popular in England, only seventy-nine were ministerial votes; 141 were in avowed opposition; and sixteen of a neutral cast. Ministers, therefore, could only look for a majority among the close boroughs, and the Scotch and Irish members; and, unfortunately for them, the great families who commanded the largest number of close boroughs, were among their opponents."

To this state of things many causes contributed. First and foremost may be placed the enthusiasm created in this country by the successful revolution in France, of which the Whig leaders had wisely availed themselves. Another cause, and one very creditable to the Duke of Wellington, was his determination not to influence the various contests by any exercise of the power of government. For this fact we must quote Mr. Roebuck, who, after stating it, adds—"I have, of late years, also on the highest authority, heard the same assertion made; and made under circumstances which, if the assertion had been incorrect, must have brought denial." That such conduct was greatly to the duke's honour, it must be admitted; but, at the same time, it was very disastrous to his government. And then the bigots and high churchmen were all against the duke: he had committed, in their eyes, an unpardonable sin—he had relieved dissenters and Roman Catholics from persecution; he had admitted them to equal civil rights; he had preferred to rid the statute-books of intolerant edicts, rather than to plunge the country into all the horrors of civil war. While the government thus rested on its merits, the various parties opposed to it were particularly active. But, as we have not yet told the tale of how the Tory party came to be divided—how it was that such peers as Lords Winchelsea and Londonderry, and such M.P.'s as Sir Edward Knatchbull, the Marquis of Blandford, Mr. Bankes, and Mr. Holme Sumner, left their own ranks, and joined the opposition in their furious attacks on government—we retrace our steps, to chronicle the growth of that religious freedom, the concession of which the ultra-Tories considered ruinous to church and state.



## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE REPEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

THE battle of religious liberty in this country has yet to be won. Much has been gained, but not all.

I am not in a position to tolerate the religious opinions of my brother-man. He has as much right to his as I have to mine. This truth was not recognised till lately. In the time of Henry VIII. there was no such recognition.

"Established Protestantism, as denoting a scheme of doctrine as well as a scheme of polity, dates," says a well-informed writer in the *British Quarterly Review*, "from the accession of Edward VI." Under Queen Elizabeth the system ripened. The act vesting ecclesiastical supremacy in the crown became a test act. All ecclesiastical persons, from the highest to the lowest—all persons taking degrees in the universities, or holding any civil office requiring homage to the crown, were to bind themselves to obedience according to this instrument. And all persons who should, by word or deed, advisedly, maliciously, and directly affirm contrary to this act, were liable, for the first offence, to a forfeiture of lands and goods; for a second, to the penalty of the premunire statute, which added excommunication and outlawry to forfeiture: the third offence became high treason. The clergyman not duly using the Book of Common Prayer, or chargeable with doing or uttering anything in depreciation of it, was fined to the value of his living for one year, and imprisoned for six months. For a second offence, his preferment was wholly forfeited; and a third subjected him to imprisonment for life. The punishment of a layman offending against this act, was, in the first instance, imprisonment during one year; imprisonment during life in the second instance; and the penalty of the third offence was imprisonment, with the loss of lands and goods. It was further enacted, that all persons failing to attend their parish church, or some recognised place of worship, on the Lord's-day, should pay the fine of one shilling for each absence, unless reasonable cause for such absence could be shown.

But, before this, Wycliffe had sown in the land the seeds of Puritanism. This Puritanism in the establishment gave Queen Elizabeth a good deal of trouble. In her time, also, appeared a new, and, as it seemed, an alarming heresy. There were men, claiming to read the New Testament, who said that the church was but a congregation of believers; and that Christ alone was the head of the church. The haughty spirit of the queen revolted at such a doctrine. If this were so, what was to become of her prerogative to frock and unfrock bishops, and to tune her pulpits, as she termed it? All the Tudor blood in her veins boiled up at such a revolting idea.

The origin of this doctrine in our history is commonly attributed to a clergyman named Robert Browne. He was related to Cecil, her majesty's Secretary of State, who often shielded his kinsman from the consequences of his extravagance. Better men—Thacker, Copping, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry—held the same opinions; and, for holding them, were sentenced to death. The terrible penalty did not deter from crime. Sectaries of this order flourished. Sir Walter Raleigh declared, that in Norfolk, and in parts about London, there were not less than 20,000.

Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, was an able opposer of this heresy. From his articles there was no way of escape.

Once upon a time, the arch enemy of mankind engaged a monk in a theological controversy, with a view to prove him a heretic. "What do you believe?" Satan is reported to have asked. "*Id credo quod credit ecclesia*," was the

reply. But, said the tormentor, "*Quid credit ecclesia;*" whereupon the monk replied, "*Id quod ego credo.*" Whitgift and the queen did not allow such evasive replies.

Bancroft followed in Whitgift's steps. In the second year of King James II.'s reign, 300 ministers were deprived, imprisoned, or banished. The Puritans had prayed him that "the Lord's-day be not profaned." His answer was the *Book of Sports*.

Dr. Laud took care still further to alienate the people, and nurse dissent. Under him, one bishop alone (Bishop Wren, of Norwich) drove upwards of 3,000 persons to seek their bread in a foreign land.

Cromwell encouraged the Independents, or Brownists.

Charles II. was inclined to discourage religious persecution. At Breda he had pledged himself to a lenient course; and it was not natural that he should wish to incur the odium of violating that pledge. But, above all, he was concerned that the laws which bore hardly on the Catholics should be relaxed. Clarendon and the bishops were of another way of thinking. The royal promise was broken; the Savoy Conference was a failure; terms of subscription were enforced, more objectionable than ever; and on St. Bartholomew's-day, 2,000 pious men were ejected from their livings, and, for conscience' sake, became beggars and wanderers on the face of the land. Nothing more clearly shows the numbing influence of subscriptions, than the fact that, from that day to this there has been scarcely a secession from the ranks of the clergy. Baptist Noel, in our time, is almost the only instance of a clergyman leaving the church in obedience to the teaching of a higher law.

The spirit of the statesmanship of that time we get from a passage in Clarendon's life. With reference to the nonconforming divines at the Savoy Conference, he writes—"It is an unhappy policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that class of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions, or granting less than they demand. And if all were granted they would have more to ask, somewhat for the security of the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of the government. Their faction is their religion. Nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real or substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever; but consist of many glutinous materials of will and humour, folly and knavery, and ambition and malice, which make them cling inseparably together till they have satisfaction in all their pretences, or till they are actually broken or subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other." The Clarendon theory is untenable. In 1828, parliament began by abandoning it. An innovation was commenced, of which we have not as yet seen the end.

The result of the Clarendon theory was, that 60,000 persons suffered for dissent between the Restoration and the Revolution; of whom it was said that 5,000 died in prison. Another result was, that dissent flourished; and actually, at this time, in numbers and activity, it is far superior to the church.

But we return to the Test and Corporation Acts. In the time of Charles, as our readers are aware, every attempt was made to favour popery. For this purpose an indulgence was granted to dissenters. When the latter saw that they were only to be tools to advance the Romish religion, Alderman Lowe (a city member, and a leading Presbyterian) spoke against it with great warmth, and said that they would rather go without their desired liberty, than have it in a way so detrimental to the nation. "The House of Commons," writes Dr. Warner, "which, for ten years, had been loading them with penal laws, were so wrought upon by this sacrifice of their liberty to the interest of the nation and religion, that they ordered a bill to be brought in to take off the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, and require only the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. It passed in the Commons; but being detained for amendments in the Lords, the parliament was prorogued before it was ready for the royal assent. But the king having, at the remonstrance of the Commons,



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